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THE BIBLE OF THE SIKHS

JOHN CLARK ARCHER

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THE BIBLE OF THE SIKHS, one volume in particular—there are several which are herein to be distinguished—is a sacred scripture worth knowing in the West. The Sikhs are, perhaps, the most conspicuous community in the present India, not by any means the largest, but the most active and compact. Several scholars from among the Sikhs themselves have been engaged of late in research among the documents with a view to their own community's instruction in the history, composition, and authentic content of the Book. The present writer, himself a western friend of Sikhs and long a student of Sikhism, is eager to transmit to Westerners, to those especially who may be concerned with comparative religion, some gleanings from the field. He offers here and now some unusual returns, together with some data generally well known, of a personal visitation under special privilege to what is said to be the original copy, or first edition, of the book. It rests in the palace-fort at Kartarpur, a town in the Jalandhar district of East Panjab, fifty miles or so southeast of Amritsar, the major, central city of the Sikhs.

The problem of the book is, of course, acute, as we shall see, but we shall assume at once that what is now kept under its legal guardian in Kartarpur is indeed the first edition of the Sikhs' own sacred scriptures, whose title *Adi Granth,* "the original collection," is fully justified. To be sure, it bears no date, nor the name of any scribe. Its history is not altogether clear, nor has the authenticity of all its contents been established —if, indeed, their value can ever be proved. For example, they say it was once hidden by the ninth Guru, Teg Bahadur, for fourteen days in the Beas river (or, perhaps, the Sutlej), to protect it from the agents of the hostile Mughal emperor, Aurangzib. But the stains that mar it seem not to be the signs of water-damage (Moses, the Israelite law-giver, lay as a babe hidden without harm among the bulrushes at the Egyptian river's edge, but we dare cite the incident as possibly having some effect on the growth of Sikh legend). At any rate, the copy at Kartarpur can be readily distinguished, as we shall see, from two other early *Granths,* the one at Mangat, and the other, that of the tenth Guru, Gobind Singh,

itself sometimes called the *Daswan,* or "tenth," *Granth,* a very influential scripture.

The *Adi Granth* of Kartarpur is a huge and heavy volume whose approximate dimensions are a height of fifteen inches, a width of twelve, and thickness eight. It consists of 974 leaves, each numbered in the upper lefthand corner. Of the consequently 1948 pages, some are wholly blank except for a numeral, maybe, and it does not immediately appear why they were left blank, for they interrupt neither the writing nor the thought, even though they come somewhat at random. The story goes that the fifth Guru, Arjan, who is associated with the composition of the book, suggested (prophesied, they say) that verses of later Guru-martyrs would fill some of these blank pages. And, to be sure, there are couplets of the martyred Teg Bahadur and one, at least, of the martyred Gobind.

The volume is handwritten—left to right—and, in general, distinctly well done. When they say, as they sometimes do, that "one man" wrote it, they refer to Guru Arjan, who may have dictated the greater part of it, or may have written some of it himself. But it has no signature of his, nor any letters scattered about in obscure, deliberate sequence which would constitute his name or office—Oriental manuscripts are known to have employed this device at times for dates and the names of authors. The surest claim might be that the handwriting is Arjan's own, but even then a good deal of variation must be reckoned with. Some of the writing is more or less a scrawl, and the sizes of the characters are varied. There is some little evidence of "trial-writing" (for trying out the pen?). There are times when the letters form no words at all, but are singly strung along, sometimes a single letter in extended repetition. The characters, we may say right here, are all *Gurmukhi,* or, the script of the "Guru-mouth" pronouncements, which were devised by the second Guru, Angad, as an exclusive alphabet in which to write the scriptures of the new religion. The characters were largely reclamations from earlier Panjabi sources, now and then old Persian, some Arabic, and some *nagari* symbols, modified, but truly expressive of the language, the vernacular, of the common people of the Panjab region. These are the characters which the Sikhs are now proposing as the only alphabet for the writing and printing of Panjabi, making Gurmukhi-Panjabi the official language of East Panjab, one of the eighteen newly constituted language areas of India, set up thus as units of political administration. Gur-

mukhi in itself has been a sign of Sikh separation from Hinduism and Islam, despite the large vocabulary common among all the folk of upper and northwestern India. It has served the Sikhs as Urdu in its Arabic-Persian character has served the Muslims, and as prakrits, such as Hindi and Marathi related to the Sanskrit, have served the Hindus.

Other variations also might suggest composite authorship or amanuensis service. Some lines are blotted out, but not erased—blotted with some sort of dark green ink. The writer may have made mistakes or may have entered repetitions which he would correct. Or, one writer may have altered another writer's lines? The *Mul Mantra,* or "root passage," of the Book, of Nanak's *Japji,* in particular, appears two times. If it appears on the front page of the book "in Guru Arjandev's own hand," it appears in still another hand on leaf No. 541, and some say this is the writing of Har Gobind, Arjan's son, the sixth Guru. And there is a miniature likeness of Har Gobind lodged by someone at this leaf, as also there is one of Arjan inserted at his copy of the basic verse.

The book is bound, although loosely enough to be opened readily at any leaf or page. The two covers are boards clad in a golden silk cloth. There is no lettering on the outer faces, no record either there or elsewhere of the binding, when, where or by whom done. The pages were, most likely, separately inscribed. Perhaps the leaves were numbered as the penmanship progressed. They may have lain long unbound, merely wrapped together, as is true of many Indian writings, some of which were never bound. The leaves, they say, are made of what is called Kashmiri-paper, a heavy, parchment-like production. They are all whole, save where insects have done a bit of harm—nothing much. The edges of each leaf, bottom, top and outer edge, are reinforced by extra strips glued on—or, were the edges worn and thus repaired?

The Book has had rough treatment, whether from man or circumstance, according to the story. (Teg Bahadur's hiding it in water has been metioned.) They say it was once stolen from Guru Har Gobind long before by his rebellious (treasonable?) grandson named Dhir Mal, and that Dhir Mal, while he had it, had to hide it for fear of damage from the Muslims. There may have been some transfers of the volume, but it has remained generally in the neighborhood of Kartarpur. It may have suffered sometimes not merely from the threats of enemies but from the indifference of its own custodians. It was a somewhat natural indif-

ference, after all. Guru Nanak himself had had no notion of a sacred text. Circumstance rather than intention may have determined its formation. Some need for it arose, and as its contents gathered they assumed a more than human quality, and reverence for the book was gradually acquired. During the years of the ten successive Gurus themselves, or until A.D. 1709, at the latest, the personal Guruship was itself superior,—except as the *heavenly* Guru was supreme. A sort of divine right by heredity came into the people's thought with reference to their Gurus, and their teachings were regarded with increased respect. In time the Book itself was formed, and reverence for it came by slow but sure development until the Book displaced the earthly Guru in the end.

The reverence with which the Sikhs regard their *Adi Granth* may now be briefly and concretely pictured by reference to a *darshan,* or religious exhibition, of the book at Kartarpur. This *darshan* was arranged at a special time for the present writer's benefit—with some friends, and some neighbors of the town, to share it. Usually a *darshan* occurs each month when the moon is at the full, but Sikhs are generous with their religious assets, and may hold a *darshan* on occasion. But the volume is never handled without due ceremony. When not in use it rests within a fireproof safe in the Shish Mahal, or "Hall of Mirrors," on an upper floor of the palace-fort which Guru Arjan built. There is a legal guardian of the book, the Raja of Kartarpur, and a *gyani,* scholar or reader, immediately in charge of it. The repository Hall of Mirrors serves as a *gurdwara,* or place of worship.

The little party for whom the special *darshan* was arranged entered the hall with appropriate behavior, having removed their shoes outside. The *gyani* welcomed them. Rugs were spread for them about the altar which had been placed before they came. While they took their places on the rugs, the *gyani* went about the opening of the safe and the exhibition of the precious volume, not exposing the book itself at once, save as it was wrapped in many coverings. As he brought it out the company stood at reverent attention. He rested it awhile on the top of his *pagri*-covered head, while he spread a floor-cloth on which to lay it, while he made the altar of plush and pillows ready by some slight adjustment. Thereafter he picked up the heavy volume in its many wrappings and laid it on the altar, pronouncing as he did so prescribed formulae and uttering prescribed prayers. Next, he laid open deftly and neatly

one by one the seven wrappings of cloth and silk, folding their corners and edges to rest free of the open book. When the volume came at last to view, it was opened by chance at what proved to be a page that held a *sloka,* or distich, of Kabir (whose teachings Nanak and the Sikhs were heir to), which was accordingly intoned by the officiating *gyani.* In the English it might run as follows:

"OM, by the true Guru's favor!
Kabir says, I have neither a thatch-roof nor a hovel,
neither house nor village;
Hari, methinks, will ask, 'Who art thou?'
I have neither caste nor name, in fact."

And then we all became informal, at the *gyani's* invitation. Two of us were invited to draw up at either side of him before the open book. He even gave us leave to turn the pages, but we deemed it reasonable not to touch them. Instead, he turned them at our suggestion and direction, as we carried on a question-answer conversation. We saw the varied lettering, sometimes crude, but always clear, the occasional discolorations due to alterations and erasures, as described above, the decorations at the tops of certain pages, and now and then words entered in the margins—for example, *sudh,* which is the same as *shudh,* with the meaning there of "verified," as if some passage had been compared somehow—with another version, maybe.

There is an index or table of contents several pages long, at the beginning. It lists, together with other items, the many, various hymns according to their *rāgs,* or "tunes," whether by name *Srirag, Majh, Gauri* or *Asa.* The opening section is liturgical, with readings for morning, evening, and special prayers (the entire volume, of course, is rhythmical). And then comes Nanak's *Japji,* or book of "psalms," with its Mul Mantra, its thirty-eight hymns, and its postlude, all in a wide variety of lines and tunes. The Mul Mantra stands alone on a decorated page, in a position similar to that which the Fatiha, or "opener" sura of the Muslim Arabic *Qur'ān* has occupied. The place of honor thus assigned the Fatiha may have served as an example to the Sikhs. The Mul Mantra, or basic verse of the *Adi Granth,* runs somewhat as follows in the English:

"Unity, active OM, True Name!
Actor, Pervader, Fearless, Devoid of Enmity,
Whom time and the ages ne'er encumber;
Self-existent, perceptible Guru—
Praise!
Pre-eminent Truth, primordial Truth,
Truth that is, saith Nanak, Truth that will abide forever."

After the Mul Mantra and the *Japji,* which every faithful Sikh will learn by heart and repeat each day, come the bulkier portions, the four types of tunes. Then follow twenty-six minor portions, and ultimately the parts containing verses from Kabir and other bhagats. There are seventy-nine *rāgs* in all, classified in groups of six or seven, each for one of the dozen times of day, except for the group of fifteen devoted to the latter part of evening.

At the close of the *darshan* and the question-answer conference, seeds of the aromatic cardamom, and *prasād,* small "favors", were distributed, as the custom is with guests, by an attendant, and *hārs,* or "wreaths," were hung by the *gyani* about the party's necks. And last of all, the book was reverently closed, its wrappings tied in place, and restored, until the next occasion, to its usual resting-place.

It is clear that some day the book must yield to other uses, also. Historical and textual critics who are likewise devoted to religion should examine it, men whose judgment can be taken by the Sikhs at large, and at once respected by all earnest students of religion. Several competent Sikhs are, in fact, engaged at present in the task. Even chemical tests as well as other means might possibly be employed sometime to determine dates with reference to the paper and other physical ingredients of the book. Indian weather is very hard on records, but doubtless all resources that now exist have not been utilized with reference to the book. Some comparisons would be immediately in order—for example, the *Granth* versions of the bhagats (Kabir, Namdev, Ravidas, Farid, and others) with versions of them which exist elsewhere. Even students of linguistic science would find these sources fruitful in themselves, not to mention fitting the language of the *Granth* into the general setting of vernaculars. Nothing theologically or philosophically profound would be discovered, but the simple doctrines of the Sikhs should be more fully understood within their setting.

There are two other *Granths* to share comparative appraisal with the *Adi Granth* of Kartarpur, namely, a copy which, they say (the present writer knows it only by report) exists in the village of Mangat in the district of Gujrat well to the north of Lahore (this village and many other sites dear to Sikhs are now in Pakistan), and the well-known edition of the tenth *(daswan)* and last Guru, Gobind Singh, known often as the *Daswan Granth.* The Mangat version, as the story goes, is a copy of the *Adi Granth* as this had been completed under Guru Arjan and his scribe Gur Das in A.D. 1604. The copy was made by a certain Bhai Bhannu of the neighborhood of Gujrat, who somehow got temporary possession of, or secured access to, the Gur Das version, and added to it a few hymns attributed to a devout Rajput lady, Mirabai—and secured the seal of approval for his version from the reigning Guru! The *Daswan Granth,* on the other hand, is not a copy of the *Adi Granth,* nor was it meant to supersede it. Rather, it adds to the *Adi Granth* hymns by Guru Gobind Singh (it was he who first assumed the title "Singh") and some by his father, Teg Bahadur. What this edition was in the original is a matter of Sikh recollection and rehearsal, for the first manuscript of it was lost (destroyed) during Gobind's restless times. However, the contents were reconstructed, and they fall today within the larger Bible of the Sikhs. All Sikhs of whatever sect are committed to the *Adi Granth,* nor did any of them register objection in 1734 to its enlargement by the addition of the *Daswan Granth.* Singhs, of course, give special but not exclusive homage to the latter.

Official copies of the *Adi Granth* were printed years ago for use in the temples and gurdwaras, but the edition was for the most part, an uncritical reproduction of the Kartarpur original, plus fifty-six couplets of Guru Teg Bahadur and one which his son, Guru Gobind Singh, wrote in response to his father's writing while a prisoner of Aurangzib in Delhi. Here follows Gobind's couplet:

> "Strength is provided, the fetters are not locked,
> expedients are everywhere;
> Everything is in thy hand, thou art thine own sure helper."

Printed editions of the Granths in various sizes, bindings, and so on, and editions of Nanak's *Japji,* in particular, are on sale in every bookshop of the Sikhs. Although the official form, whether script or type, is *Gurmukhi,* there are *nagari* (Hindi character) editions, also. The Book

looms large among the people. There may even be something of bibliolatry among them. At any rate, the Book occupies the center of the shrine—two copies rest on the altar in the Darbar Sahib, or so-called Golden Temple, in Amritsar. It is not held generally to be sacred to the touch, but every now and then some lowly devotee will touch it reverently. On occasion extensive portions, sometimes the whole volumes of the *Adi Granth,* are intoned by *gyanis* or *Granthis* (there are no priests) to the accompaniment of drums, as worshipers come and go. But there is some other indication of royalty assigned it: a canopy is hung above it, and royal peacock feathers are waved over it. The *Granth* itself enjoins Sikhs to worship nothing but True Name, as representing God, and educated Sikhs obey this wise injunction, but commoners, illiterates, especially, often regard the Book itself with awe and obvious devotion. The *darshan* at Kartarpur was an impressive demonstration of something more than a curator's laudable esteem of a rare and precious volume—and what conclusions might be drawn from the reluctance of the guests to touch it?

What are the teachings of the Book itself? What is the essence of the Sikh religion, of enlightened worship, in particular? Nanak was the founder of the order, although he did not plan to institute, much less to organize, a new religion, or a separate faith. He lived nearly seventy years (ca. A.D. 1470-1540) in northern India, mostly, among the Hindus and the Muslims (Muslims then made up ten or fifteen percent of the total population). The followers of these religions had found during many centuries so little in matters of religion that was common to them all, despite the fact that, in general, the Indian Muslims had first of all been Hindus. Indeed, Muslims steadily increased in numbers, and the two religions were hostile toward each other, the Muslims especially hostile toward the Hindu idols. Hindus had no special creed—have never had—but Muslims had, one that was simple, exclusive, and emphatic. Muslims worshipped Allah, the only God to them, and counted as unforgivable sin the association of any other god with Allah. Hindus worshiped many gods, gods innumerable, in fact, in the thought of common people. Islam was a fellowship; true Muslims among themselves were brothers. Hinduism, on the other hand, rested on distinctions in color, class, and occupation which came about by *karma* and transmigration, a man being born to his own peculiar station. It was only in a mystic way that some Hindus and some Muslims found things in common. Both

Hindu and Muslim mystics—Muslim sufis, for example—disdained the world and sought withdrawal from it, practicing toward such an end a sort of self-effacement. The Muslim found Allah and the Hindu found pantheistic Brahman by way of this mystico-ascetic discipline. But Nanak at the outset was more aware of and more impressed by the realistic tension which existed between the majority of Muslims and the greater masses of the Hindus.

Nanak sought to do away with all distinctions, whether of theology or caste, to preach at once a social fellowship and a doctrine of One God. He avoided both Brahman and Allah as a name for God and chose *Sat Nam,* "True Name," presumably allowing the worshiper himself to have regard in private for the object of his worship by any name he chose within the scope and meaning of Sat Nam. This, after all, was something of an abstract way of getting at reality, something of an incomprehensible and intangible ideal to both the Muslim deist and the polytheistic Hindu, and the program of reconciliation which Nanak was proposing failed. The prescription was, in fact, fundamentally too negative, too "easy-going," if we may think in terms of Sahajdaris, the ultimate designation of Nanak's more immediate adherents, with or from whom the Keshdaris, "the hairy ones," or Singhs ("lions") of Guru Gobind, stand in contrast. Sikhism has survived by other methods than that which Nanak had of himself proposed, through some crucial change of circumstances as the Guruship continued, and by a change of content which fixed the minds of Sikhs more immediately upon the world. Sikhism found itself in opposition to the Muslims when the Muslims made war upon the Sikhs; and, as years went by, from Arjan's time increasing numbers of the Sikhs became a military people. Political expediency came upon the scene, and Guru Gobind organized the Khalsa, or body of the "pure," which made itself an independent, ruling nation in the later days of Maharaja Ranjit Singh. Hindus and Muslims have remained conspicuously apart, and Sikhism became a separate order—especially those Sikhs who have borne the name of Singhs, Keshdaris, and Akalis (*Akal,* the Timeless or Eternal, was a later name which Gobind used for God, which an influential subdivision has retained, and which is represented nowadays in a body called Akali Dal, or Branch). These more active, aggressive and nationalistic Sikhs insist upon retaining their distinctive culture and peculiar way of life, but

they and all other Sikhs rest their claims and case primarily upon the moral and religious truths of Nanak.

The *Japji* is Nanak's special gospel. It exhibits devotion to "Unity, active OM, True Name" (*Ikk Om Sat Nam,* in the Kartarpur edition, and *Ek Onkar Satinamu* in certain reproductions) and offers for worship "the Lord" (*Sahib* is the word), or "the Lord of Lords" (*Nathu Nathi),* who is "pervasive, fearless, devoid of enmity," who is "pre-eminent, primordial and eternal Truth" (*Sachu),* or "the True One" (*Sacha).* That is the Name by which men can be saved who fix their minds upon it, dependent upon its wisdom and its mercy. It is obedience (*hukm,* "order," or what is done by the will of God) rather than reflection, contemplation, knowledge, or mystical design, rather than salutations, genuflections, and the mere repetition of the scriptures, rather than caste-observance, pilgrimage, or tabus, which is man's way of safety and ultimate salvation.

> "Salvation's doors (*mokh duaru)* are opened by obedience,
> One may even save his family by obedience;
> Obedience to the Guru gets salvation.
>
> * * * * *
>
> Who knows the Guru in his heart has safety.
>
> * * * * *
>
> Salvation comes at last to those
> whose thought rests on the Name."

"Guru" in the *Japji* is not a person, nor a book, but God, and *Sat Nam* is God's name.

Guru Gobind Singh himself made some attempt at naming God, not only making reference to him as *Akal,* but also in more warlike terms, as *Sarb-loh,* "All-steel", and *Asi-pani,* "Sword-in-hand." But most of all, Gobind emphasized the *hukm,* or "order," which Sikhs are to obey. Specifically he declared that "the *Granth* is by order the Guru of all Sikhs," he proclaimed obedience to the heavenly Guru's own command. All things, including Sikhism, had come to be by Sat Nam's *hukm,* "ordering." Such is the note he uttered in harmony with an item in Nanak's own gospel also. This Hukm-theology and ethics became expressive of the common consciousness of Sikhs, whereby the Sikh religion has continued and gained way:

"By Sat Nam's *hukm* have all things been formed,
No one is blessed, unless He orders it.
Nature runs her course as He has ordered it.
All serve beneath His order, and none acts without it.
Under thine order, Lord, hath all been done,
And naught is of itself alone."

Battle in its own time was by God's order, and by his Name, and underneath his banner was the Khalsa sometime realized. The caste strain in a way, after all, has prevailed among the Sikhs, for they came originally of martial Hindu stock. More than the warrior branch of Hindus, the kshatriya Jats and Rajputs, have ever done, however, their kindred Sikhs have done in producing a distinctive scripture of their own. And circumstance has made of Sikhs a separate nation. The Union of Sikh States, very recently accomplished, may continue to conserve what is distinctive in the faith. And, we may hope, it may likewise afford peculiar opportunity and incentive toward an altogether comprehensive and intensive study of the Bible of the Sikhs.

JOHN LOCKE AND THE RELIGIOUS "AUFKLÄRUNG"

ANDREW BROWN

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THE IMPORTANCE OF JOHN LOCKE'S THEORIES for eighteenth century thought, both at home and abroad, has long been recognized, and many of them have been quite thoroughly explored in their relation to subsequent philosophers. Thus the line of development from Locke's famous *Essay concerning Human Understanding* (1690) through Berkeley and Hume to Kant is familiar to all, and much has been written of Locke's effect on lesser philosophers as well. Less has been done, however, with the story of Locke's religious theories in their relation to the German *Aufklärung*. Since the age was one in which religious elements permeated, to an unusual degree, the various fields of intellectual endeavor, it will not be surprising to discover in the course of our discussion that Locke's religious theories affected not only the theologians but other men of letters as well.

It seems in order first to review briefly the principal arguments in Locke's religious writings, since no little confusion has resulted from the failure to distinguish his changing (and sometimes conflicting) views on important religious topics. The first point which comes to mind is his attempt to "rediscover" the essence of Christianity, which had been obscured, he thought, by the body of theological dogma which had arisen since Christ's death. Through re-examination of the words of Christ and His disciples, he hoped to establish a few "reasonable" principles upon which the wrangling Protestant sects could unite. In this attempt he gave definite form to certain general tendencies already present in seventeenth century religious thought both in England and on the continent.

Among worthy predecessors at home were the Latitudinarians, who, in the first half of the century, devoted themselves to quieting the storm raging between Anglican and Puritan. Lord Falkland (1610-1643) may be considered their first leader. Among his followers were numbered Chillingworth, Jeremy Taylor, and, in his early years, Edward Stillingfleet. Stillingfleet's inspiration derived in part from the Cambridge Platonists. One of their shining lights was Ralph Cud-

worth, whose liberal views were shared by his continental correspondent, Philip van Limborch, a Dutch Remonstrant leader. With the latter Locke struck up a lifelong friendship during his "exile" in Holland (1683-1689), and conceived for the Remonstrant doctrine a lively admiration well attested in the subsequent Locke-Limborch correspondence. This result of his stay in Holland also impressed Locke's English friends upon his return to his own country. After the philosopher's death, Lady Masham wrote to Limborch that Locke had always spoken "with much affection not only of his friends in Holland but also of the whole society of the Remonstrants on account of the opinions held by them."[1] Thus, in England and in Holland Locke could observe the opposition to sectarianism and sterile dogmatism taking the form of an appeal to human "reasonableness."

Opposition to such dogmatism also appeared in Germany during the same period, first in the form of Pietism, which directed its primary appeal to emotion rather than to reason. Nonetheless, students seem agreed that the movement helped indirectly to prepare the way for the development of rationalism, though they are not agreed as to just how this came about.[2] Despite certain areas of agreement, however, the two movements came into conflict at many points. Pietism soon en-

1. September 17, 1705: R. A. Fox Bourne, *The Life of John Locke* 2 vols. (London, 1876) II, 282.

2. F. Mauthner, for example, while claiming that in general the Pietists subscribed to orthodox Lutheran dogma more fully than is generally realized, nevertheless admits that they rendered "undeniable" service to the cause of following *Aufklärer: Der Atheismus und seine Geschichte im Abendlande* 4 vols. (Stuttgart and Berlin, 1920-23), III, 199. Brüggemann sees in Pietism's "objectivity" a source of *Aufklärung* as it was expressed in the philosophy of Wolff: "Der Pietismus hat mit seinen religiösen Anschauungen die objektivistische Tendenz der deutschen Aufklärung bestimmt, die durch das philosophische System Christian Wolffs festgelegt ward, einer Aufklärung, die in ihren Anfängen nichts weniger als objektivistisch gerichtet war": *Deutsche Literatur . . . in Entwicklungsreihen.* Reihe Aufklärung, I (1928): "Aus der Frühzeit der deutschen Aufklärung" (ed. Brüggemann) p. 7. Hereafter cited: Brüggemann. Others have noted that the two movements shared an individualistic approach. On this subject Beyer-Fröhlich mentions in passing: ". . . nur so viel mag angedeutet werden, dass die 'natürliche Religion' z. T. durch die pietistische Forderung nach individueller Heilung vorbereitet wurde . . . Gemeinsam . . . war ihnen die Erkenntnis, dass die Orthodoxie sowohl hinsichtlich der persönlichen Aneignung des evangelischen Christentums als auch in der Anwendung desselben im täglichen Leben . . . versagt hatte": *Deutsche Literatur . . . in Entwicklungsreihen.* Reihe Deutsche Selbstzeugnisse, VII (1933): "Pietismus und Rationalismus" (ed. Marianne Beyer-Fröhlich) p. 6.

countered powerful foreign opposition in the form of Latitudinarianism, whose tenets helped to provide the essence of Germany's theological *Aufklärung*. Locke's share in helping to direct the main stream of German theological speculation away from Pietistic channels was admirably illustrated in the career of Christian Thomasius, to whom we must shortly return.

Reason's subsequent victory was neither cheaply nor shortly won, however, and various stages in the struggle may be distinguished, differentiated by the degree of human reason admitted into religious discussions. These stages parallel rather closely Locke's own varying attitudes. To indicate the parallelism we must consider not only *The Reasonableness of Christianity as Deliver'd in the Scriptures* (1695), but also his *Paraphrases of St. Paul* (1705-1707) and the section of the *Essay concerning Human Understanding* (1690) dealing with faith and reason.

In the first named work, Christianity was regarded as an ethical system, not a mere dogma, and it contained for Locke many a sound suggestion for attaining not only eternal bliss in the life to come after death, but also for attaining happiness in the earthly life. To make way for this theory, Locke had first to establish the possibility of attaining human happiness. Since he felt that such a possibility was incompatible with the current interpretation of the doctrine of original sin, he attacked this hypothesis in the opening pages of his work. Such a concept, he declared, was unreasonable, and arose from a misinterpretation of the applicable passages of Scripture.[3] His re-examination of the pertinent evidence convinced him that human happiness was indeed attainable, and consequently he felt free to consider then the method of gaining this desirable end. For him the answer was to be a Christian. In what, therefore, did this consist? First, in the single act of faith, to believe Christ to be the Messiah.[4] Other teachings dealt with practice, not belief, and here the chief obligatory act was repentance. These two constituted the only requirements for membership in the Christian family. The simplicity of the doctrine surprised even Locke, and confused and provoked many orthodox theologians, against whom he was obliged to defend his findings in the subsequent "Vindications."

These two principles logically implied, however, subscription to

3. *The Works of John Locke* 9 vols. (9th ed.; London, 1791), VI, 6 f.
4. *Ibid.*, 51.

many another ethical rule, originally set down in the Old Testament and renewed by the teachings of Christ. All of them were perfectly "reasonable" in that human reason was held to be capable of deducing them. In fact, however, revelation still played a vital role for

> human reason, unassisted, failed men in its great and proper business of morality. . . . And he that shall collect all the moral rules of the philosophers, and compare them with those of the New Testament, will find them to come short of the morality delivered by our Savior, and taught by his apostles. . . .[5]

Thus revelation supplied a definite need, for "a clear knowledge of their duty was wanting to mankind."[6] Where the philosophers had failed, said Locke, how slim the chance that the uneducated masses should succeed without revelation. He concluded then

> that it is too hard a task for unassisted reason to establish morality in all its parts . . . , and it is at least a surer and shorter way, to the apprehensions of the vulgar, and mass of mankind, that one manifestly sent from God, and coming with visible authority from him, should as a King and lawmaker, tell them their duties. . . .[7]

Such was Locke's justification for revelation in the *Reasonableness,* an interpretation quite different from that found in the early editions of his *Essay,* as we shall see.

To a later edition of the *Essay* (4th, 1700) Locke added a chapter on "Enthusiasm," wherein he took to task mystics and "enthusiasts" whose faith transcended the bounds of reasonableness. Reason, said Locke, must be permitted to judge of the *origin* of a supposed revelation, though not of its *content:*

> Reason must be our last Judge and Guide in everything. I do not mean that we must consult Reason, and examine whether a proposition revealed from God can be made out by natural principles, and if it cannot, that we may then reject it. But consult it we must, and by it examine, whether it be a revelation from God or no: And if Reason finds it to be revealed from God, Reason then declares for it, as much as for any other truth, and makes it one of her dictates.[8]

5. *Ibid.,* 140.

6. *Ibid.,* 138.

7. *Ibid.,* 139. Even the philosophers have had need of revelation, Locke added, for "we may observe that the first knowledge of the truths they have added, is owing to revelation, though as soon as they are heard and considered, they are found to be agreeable to reason, and such as cannot be contradicted" (*ibid.,* 140). Such references to the advantages of revelation over reason might be multiplied (Cf. *ibid.,* 145, 147, etc.).

8. *Essay,* IV, xix ¶ 14 (*Works* II, 280).

Here Locke's position was also clearly distinguished from that of the Deists, who subjected even the *content* of revelation to rational investigation. Tindal's statement in *Christianity as old as the creation* (1730) may be cited here as typical of the Deistic attitude:

> If nothing but Reasoning can improve Reason, and no Book can improve my Reason in any point, but as it gives me convincing Proofs of its Reasonableness; a Revelation, that will not suffer us to judge of its Dictates by our Reason, is so far from improving Reason, that it forbids the use of it. . . . And if the Holy Ghost . . . works by heightening and improving our natural Faculties, it can only be by using such means as will improve them, in proposing Reasons and Arguments to convince our Understanding, which can only be improv'd, by studying the Nature and Reason of things.[9]

Locke's position, midway between the orthodox belief in a positive, revealed religion and the "natural" religion of the Deists, typified the first stage in the reason-revelation controversy. Those who shared Locke's view, among them Clarke and Tillotson, have been called "supernatural rationalists."[10] Wernle used a similar phrase, *vernünftige Orthodoxie,* to characterize this position. Its chief philosophical representatives, he found, were Locke and Leibniz.[11]

From this first stage a second developed when in practice reason was set to discover the essence of divine revelation. Applied to the Scriptures this produced the historico-philological textual criticism which played an important role in the history of eighteenth century rational theology. While Locke was by no means the first to employ such criticism, his principles and methods, outlined and applied in the *Reasonableness* and more fully in the later *Paraphrases of St. Paul,*[12]

9. Reprinted in Creed and Boys Smith, *Religious Thought in the Eighteenth Century. Illustrated from writers of the period* (Cambridge, 1934), p. 33. Cf. also S. G. Hefelbower, *The Relation of John Locke to English Deism* (Chicago, 1918), p. 183.

10. Cf. A. G. McGiffert, *Protestant Thought before Kant* (New York, 1911).

11. Paul Wernle, *Der schweizerische Protestantismus im XVIII. Jahrhundert* 3 vols. (Tübingen, 1923-1925), I, 468 ff.

12. Locke's hypothesis regarding the essentially vernacular character of the language of the Scriptures; his insistence that the biblical writers used the "words and phrases . . . according to that time and country wherein they lived," and his attempt to establish the "ordinary vulgar sense . . . known at that time" (*Works* VI, 5) have been amply justified by subsequent discoveries of papyri, ostraca, and inscriptions. See H. McLachlan, *The Religious Opinions of Milton, Locke and Newton* (Manchester, 1941), p. 95 (= Publications of the University of Manchester, CCLXXVI. Theological series, VI).

attracted much attention, and served as a model to many followers both at home and abroad. As we shall see, they were especially popular among the German scholars of the second stage of the *Aufklärung*, the *Neologen*.

The third stage, whereon reason eclipsed revelation in the discovery of religious truth, was most nearly paralleled by Locke's discussion of faith and reason in the *Essay*. Here, in contrast to the argument of the *Reasonableness*, Locke asserted:

> No man, inspired by God, can, by any revelation communicate to others any new simple ideas which they had not before from sensation or reflection . . . the same truths may be discovered and conveyed down from revelation which are discoverable to us by reason . . . but in all things of this kind there is little need or use of revelation, God having furnished us with a natural and surer means to arrive at the knowledge of them . . . Whatsoever truths we come to this clear discovery of from the knowledge and contemplation of our own ideas will always be more certain to us than those which are conveyed to us by traditional revelations. . . .

Here, too, even the content of revelation was to be subjected to rational scrutiny as Locke continued:

> No evidence of our faculties, by which we receive . . . revelations, can exceed, if equal, the certainty of our intuitive knowledge; and therefore no proposition can be received for divine revelation . . . if it be contradictory to our clear and intuitive knowledge.[13]

Similarly, in dealing with ethics, Locke, in the *Essay*, put great store in the possibilities of a reasoned, even "mathematical" approach:

> But one part of these disadvantages in moral ideas [their complexity, etc.] which has made them to be thought not capable of demonstration may in good measure be remedied by definitions. . . . And what methods algebra or something of that kind may hereafter suggest to remove other difficulties it is not easy to foretell. Confident I am, that if men would, in the same method and with the same indifference, search after moral as they do after mathematical truths, they would find they have a stronger connection one with another and a more necessary consequence from our clear and distinct ideas, and come nearer to perfect demonstration, than is commonly imagined.[14]

There have been various explanations for this changing attitude toward reason and revelation. Chronologically, the less orthodox

13. *Essay*, IV, XVIII, ¶ 2-5 (*Works* II, 263 ff.)
14. *Ibid.*, III ¶ 19-20 (*Works* II, 113 ff.)

opinion came first. Voltaire deplored what he seems to have considered Locke's later "betrayal" of reason.[15] Fox Bourne felt that Locke consciously withdrew to somewhat safer ground for "he knew that the *Essay* . . . was his most important work, . . . and in it he had started so many heresies and provoked so many prejudices, that he was bound to protect it as far as possible from any additional prejudice that might be stirred up against it because of the additional heresies of its author."[16] Another explanation maintained that Locke varied his approach to correspond to the varying intellectual levels of his audience. The *Essay,* it was said, was designed for the philosophers, the *Reasonableness* for popular consumption.[17] Whatever the cause, this shift of emphasis should be kept in mind when discussing the effects of Locke's religious theories.

These theories of the *Essay,* the *Reasonableness,* and the *Paraphrases* very soon attracted international attention. Reviews, excerpts, and discussions in widely read Dutch, French, and German periodicals usually followed publication of the works by a few weeks or months, and several versions of Latin, French, and German translations made the complete works available to continental scholars of the early eighteenth century.[18] In January, 1688, for example, an extract of the *Essay* appeared in the (Amsterdam) *Bibliothèque Universelle et Historique*[19] two years before the first complete edition in English. This popular journal was founded and edited by Locke's disciple and

15. Cf. Voltaire's statement in *Le diner du Compte de Boulainvilliers* (1767), where the skeptical count is made to say: ". . . quand le célèbre Locke, voulant ménager à la fois les impostures de cette religion et les droits de l'humanité, a écrit son livre du *Christianisme raisonnable,* il n'a pas eu quatre disciples: preuve assez forte que le christianisme et la raison ne peuvent subsister ensemble": *Oeuvres Complètes* 52 vols. (Paris, 1877-1885), XXVI, 550 f.

16. Fox Bourne, *op. cit.,* II, 293.

17. Mauthner, *op. cit.,* II, 538 ff.

18. Cf. Hendrika J. Reesink, *L'Angleterre et la Littérature anglaise dans les trois plus anciens périodiques français de Holland de 1684 à 1709* (Zutphen, 1931); M. Blassneck, *Frankreich als Vermittler Englisch-Deutscher Einflüsse im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert* (Leipzig, 1934). (= Kölner Anglistische Arbeiten, XX); H. O. Christophersen, "A Bibliographical Introduction to the Study of John Locke," *Skrifter utgitt av det Norske Videnskaps-Akademi i Oslo,* Hist. Filos. Klasse, II, 8 (1930); Mary Bell Price, and Lawrence Marsden Price, *The publication of English literature in Germany in the eighteenth century* (Berkley, 1934). (= University of California Publications in Modern Philology, XVII).

19. VIII (Jan. 1688), 49-142.

friend Jean LeClerc.[20] It was this version which introduced Christian Thomasius to Locke's work,[21] and it provided Leibniz with the basis for his *Réflexions sur l'entendement humain . . .* , which later grew into the famous *Nouveaux Essais. . . .*[22] LeClerc faithfully reported Locke's subsequent works and the many controversies they aroused in his *Bibliothèque Universelle et Historique* and its continuation, the *Bibliothèque Choisie.* In this he was ably seconded by Basnage de Beauval with his (Rotterdam) *Histoire des Ouvrages des Savans,* and to a lesser extent by the *Nouvelles de la Republique des Lettres,* founded in 1684 by Pierre Bayle, who edited it until 1687. In France, the *Memoires de Trevoux,* among others, reported Locke's works. In Germany the famous Leipzig *Acta Eruditorum* and its vernacular counterpart, the *Deutsche Acta Eruditorum,* as well as the *Göttingische gelehrte Anzeigen,* the (Leipziger) *Neue Zeitung von gelehrten Sachen,* Löscher's *Unschuldige Nachrichten,*[23] and others summarized Locke's theories for German scholars. There was thus no dearth of information on the English philosopher in Germany. The stimulating effect of his ideas may be discerned in the works of many a prominent *Aufklärer.*

Into first consideration come the "supernatural rationlists," whose views most closely paralleled those of Locke in *The Reasonableness of Christianity as Deliver'd in the Scriptures* (1695) and the chapter on "Enthusiasm" added to the fourth edition of the *Essay* in 1700. Here Thomasius, Leibniz, and Wolff may serve as examples, and we shall also attempt to estimate the popularity of such ideas among a less scholarly audience.

In the career of Christian Thomasius the conflicting claims of faith and reason were admirably illustrated. In his popular philo-

20. LeClerc's *Ontologie,* for example, was dedicated to Locke, and his *Pneumatologia* (1692) and *Opera Philosophica* (1698) contained many Lockian theories, as LeClerc himself freely admitted. See his review of the fifth edition of Locke's *Essay* in *Bibliothèque Choisie,* XII (1707), 81.

21. Brüggemann, *op. cit.,* p. 8, and G. Zart, *Einfluss der englischen Philosophen seit Bacon, auf die deutsche Philosophie des 18. Jahrhunderts* (Berlin, 1881), p. 33.

22. Published posthumously in 1765. Cf. Leibniz, *Philosophische Schriften* (ed. C. J. Gerhardt). 7 vols. (Berlin, 1875-1890), V (1882), Abteilung 2: "Leibniz und Locke."

23. Founded in 1701 under the title: *Altes und Neues aus dem Schatz der theologischen Wissenschaft,* and published under various names until 1761. Cf. J. Kirchner, *Die Grundlagen des deutschen Zeitschriftenwesens* (Leipzig, 1931), II, 75, Nr. 1025).

sophical text books,[24] which began to appear during the last decade of the seventeenth century, many parallels to Lockian thought have been noted. Like Locke, and unlike Wolff, Thomasius here discarded the traditional logical method of the syllogism in favor of an empiristic method of investigation. Such parallels have been discussed by Zart, who adds:

> Sogar den Vergleich des menschlichen Verstandes "nach dem Sündenfall" mit einer tabula rasa, die geeignet ist, verschiedene Eindrücke zu empfinden, findet man bei ihm.[25]

In the field of ethics it was Thomasius who attempted to carry out Locke's suggestion in the *Essay*[26] that this subject might be treated scientifically, somewhat in the manner of a mathematical demonstration. Locke himself never did so, and later maintained, as we have seen, that such a procedure was unnecessary.[27] Thomasius devoted two works to the difficult problem: *Einleitung zur Sittenlehre* (1692), and *Ausübung der Sittenlehre* (1696), but by this time he was convinced that human reason was incapable of accomplishing the task, which he now declared was the prerogative of a superhuman power.[28]

Abandoning for a time the method of reasoned investigation, Thomasius passed the next several years under the influence of Pietists and other mystics. Such a tendency had been apparent as early as 1694, when the first edition of Pierre Poiret's[29] *De eruditione solida, superficiaria et falsa* had appeared with a preface by Thomasius[30] warmly commending this famous mystic. Later Poiret entered the controversy aroused by Locke's religious views and published his *Fides et ratio collatae . . . adversus Principia Joannis Lockii . . .* (Amsterdam, 1707), which attracted international attention. LeClerc noted its

24. *Einleitung zu der Vernunftlehre . . .* (Halle, 1691); *Ausübung der Vernunftlehre . . .* (Halle, 1691); *Von der Kunst, verünftig und tugendhaft zu lieben . . .* (Halle, 1691).

25. In Thomasius' *Institutiones jurisprudentiae divinae* (1687), I, ii, 39. Cf. Zart, *op. cit.*, p. 35.

26. IV, iii, ¶ 18 (*Works*, II, 112).

27. In the *Reasonableness*. Cf. *Works*, VI, 139.

28. *Ausübung . . .* XV, ¶ 20-22. Cf. also W. Bienert, *Die Philosophie des Christian Thomasius* (Diss. Halle, 1934), pp. 43 ff.

29. A faithful disciple of Annette Bourignon and her most enthusiastic apologist; his most famous work was the *Bibliotheca mysticorum selecta* (1708).

30. Reprinted in *Programmata Thomasiana* (Halle and Leipzig, 1724), pp. 308 ff. Cf. especially ¶ 33, pp. 357 f.

appearance in his *Bibliothèque Choisie*,[31] but refused to be drawn into discussion since, in this instance, he maintained, "causa se ipsa defendat." The work was also reviewed by the *Histoire de Ouvrages des Savans*[32] and in Germany by the *Acta Eruditorum*.[33] In English translation it was published in London in 1713. The chancellor of Tübingen, Wolfgang Jäger, discussed the claims of Locke and Poiret in 1708,[34] and this tract was also reviewed in the *Histoire*[35] and the *Acta Eruditorum*.[36]

Thomasius also took a stand in this controversy, but by this time he had read Locke's criticism of mystics and "enthusiasts" in the fourth edition of the *Essay* (1700), and had modified his position once more. He now accepted with Locke the two sources of religious knowledge, reason and revelation, and declared that mystical extremes of belief were to be avoided, for they led to error. In 1705 he wrote:

. . . alii magis subjacent enthusiasmo, alii magis subtilitatibus ratiocinationum nimiis in errores ducuntur.[37]

Two years later, in his preface to Schütze's translation of Grotius, Thomasius reiterated his defense of "reasonable" scriptural interpretation:

Anderen Theils auch diejenigen gröblich fehlen, die der heil. Schrifft eine unvernünfftige Auslegung angedichtet, und denenjenigen, die ihnen solches vernünfftig zeigen, über das Maul fahren.[38]

He pointed out that the Scriptures were written for "die vernünfftigen Menschen und nicht für die unvernünfftigen Thiere," and that

die Regeln vernünfftiger Erklärung in Auslegung der heil. Schrifft gebraucht werden sollen, und man sich alles unvernünfftigen Cavillirens und solcher

31. XIII (1707), 412-13.

32. XXIV (Sept., 1708), 425.

33. Okt., 1708, 455.

34. Under the title, *Judicium sine affectu de duobus adversariis John Lockio & Petro Poireto eorumque pugna de Ratione et Fide. . . .*

35. XXIV (Juin, 1708), 279 f. According to this review, Locke was judged the victor in the controversy.

36. Dez., 1708, 547.

37. *Fundamenta Juris naturae et gentium* (1705), I, iii, ¶ 64. Cited by Zart, *op. cit.*, p. 34.

38. Preface to Grotius' *Drey Bücher vom Recht des Krieges und des Friedens*, tr. Schütze (Leipzig, 1707), ¶ 7, p. 7. Cited in W. Bienert, *Die Glaubenslehre des Christian Thomasius* (Diss. Halle, 1934), p. 92.

Auslegungen enthalten muss, daraus etwas widersprechendes, unmögliches, und offenbar unvernünfftiges folge.[39]

By the time Poiret's discussion of Locke appeared, therefore, Thomasius was firmly convinced of the error of his mystical ways, and said so quite bluntly in his discussion of a second edition of *De eruditione solida* . . . (Halle, 1708),[40] where he severely criticized Poiret's attack on Locke, for its "unreasonableness" and its mystical "enthusiasm."[41] At the same time, Thomasius acknowledged the importance of Locke (particularly of the *Essay* discussion of "enthusiasm") in the development of his own views.[42]

Thereafter Thomasius remained a faithful supporter of Lockian principles, and called on him as an authority in his further religious writings. In his *Höchstnöthige Cautelen . . . zu Erlernung der Kirchen-Rechts-Gelahrheit* (Halle, 1713) for example, he described, like Locke in the *Reasonableness,* the various causes of corrupted Christian teaching:

nehmlich in dem Verderbnüss des moralischen Gesetzes durch die Lehre der Pharisäer, dann in dem falschen Begriff von dem Messia und desselben zeitlichen Reiche, und endlich in dem doppelten Irrthum, von dem Zustande der Seelen nach diesem Leben.[43]

Here Thomasius drew attention to Locke's discussion of just these points in his *Reasonableness* (referring to the first edition of Coste's French translation) and agreed with his conclusions

39. *Ibid.,* ¶ 7, pp. 6 f.

40. Thomasius, *Dissertatio ad Petri Poireti libros de Eruditione solida, superficiaria & falsa* (Halle, 1708). Reprint in *Programmata Thomasiana,* pp. 598 ff.

41. Cf. *ibid.,* ¶ xxxvi, pp. 650 ff. See also the review of Poiret's *Posthuma* (Amsterdam, 1721) in *Deutsche Acta Eruditorum,* 74. Theil (1721) 112-34, esp. 131-32. Poiret's reply to Thomasius was contained in the *Posthuma,* where he cited eight passages from Locke "welche die Grundwahrheiten der Christlichen Religion über den Haufen werfen."

42. "Multum denique me adjuvit in observandis fraudibus methodi mysticae eruditisimus tractatus celeberrimi Lockii de intellectu, utpote qui non solum in plurimis veritatibus, a me pariter antea adversus errores communes detectis, me confirmavit, sed & maxime cautelas ostendit evitandi enthusiasmum, cujus adeo elegantissimum caput de enthusiasmo, quoties se offert occasio, auditoribus meis commendare soleo" (*ibid.,* ¶ 35, pp. 647 ff.). Cf. Brüggemann, *op. cit.,* p. 9: "Locke's Kapitel 'von dem Enthusiasmus' . . . hat Thomasius der Aufklärung zurückgegeben, es bedeutet damit einen Markstein in der Entwicklung der frühen Aufklärung selber."

43. *op. cit.* C. 9, ¶ 5, p. 128.

[dass] der Inhalt der Christlichen Religion darinn [bestehe], dass man glaubet, Jesus sey der Messias, das Kennzeichen der Religion aber sey ein heiliges Leben, und die Belohnung derselben sey das ewige Leben, und die Auferstehung derer Todten.[44]

Thomasius also agreed with Locke's view in the *Reasonableness* that both reason and revelation were necessary. One must be on guard, he maintained,

dass man sich nicht einbilde, die Christliche Lehre bestehe nur in einer ausgebesserten Sittenlehre, und weil sie also bloss auff die Vernunfft gegründet sey, so habe man die Glaubens-Artickel, welche sich auff eine übernatürliche Offenbarung gründen, nicht zu achten.[45]

On this theme Hobbes had also written, and Thomasius warned that his work (especially *Leviathan*) must be used only with great care,

wegen der vielen eingemischten Irrthümer, welche aus dem haupt Irrthum von der fälschlich eingebildeten Moralität derer menschlichen Verrichtungen, oder dass dieselbe von dem freyen Willen eines mächtigern dependire, herrühret. Daher er insonderheit den Artickel der Christlichen Religion von dem heiligen Leben, und von der Ausbesserung derer Pharisaeischen Lehren unterlassen hat.[46]

A better guide in this matter, said Thomasius, was Locke:

Man kan also leicht zwischen dieser Lehre des Hobbes und der des Lockens einen Vergleich anstellen. Was der Hobbes gutes hat, solches findet man beym Locken, ohne dass es solte mit der verkehrten Lehre des Hobbesii vermischt seyn.[47]

Locke was also Thomasius' authority when he warned:

Ferner muss man nicht meynen, Christus habe einige zur Seeligkeit nöthige Glaubens-Artickel ausgelassen, welche die Apostel nachmals hätten ersetzen müssen.[48]

Thus Thomasius, vacillating for a time between "reasonable" and mystical, pietistic views, eventually abandoned the latter, and with Locke as guide and authority indicated the pathway which the theological *Aufklärer* were to follow.

44. *Loc. cit.*
45. *Ibid.*, ¶ 7, p. 128 f.
46. *Ibid.*, note "e," pp. 129 f.
47. *Ibid.*, p. 130.
48. *Ibid.*, ¶ 9, p. 130. Locke's *Reasonableness:* "das letzte Capitel im ersten Theil" was here the authority.

Leibniz too found himself in substantial agreement with the religious views in the *Reasonableness* and the discussion of "enthusiasm."[49] Reason and revelation should work hand in hand in the discovery of religious truth. Religion Leibniz defined as love for God based on correct ideas of God. This led in turn to true love for oneself and one's neighbors, since God could not be divorced from the kingdom of His spirits. The practice of religion was thus a moral exercise, and Locke, too, had stressed this ethical aspect. Reason also played an important role, said Leibniz, for love was not possible without knowledge. Our knowledge of God was based partially on knowledge of self. In this respect religion was natural. Knowledge also came through external communication, and thus religion was in part historical or positive. This communication might come in the form of immediate revelation from God, or mediate revelation through other men. Neither Locke nor Leibniz felt that modern times provided a trustworthy illustration of the former. Locke's chapter on "Enthusiasm" (*Essay*, IV, xix) specifically pointed out the weakness of modern examples, and Leibniz, in the section of his *Nouveaux Essais* . . . devoted to an outline and discussion of this chapter, showed himself in complete agreement.[50] Regarding mediate revelation, Leibniz, too, would set reason to judge of its credentials though not of its content. To distinguish thus between revelations which could validly claim divine origin and those which could not became a fundamental problem in following decades, and the history of the theological *Aufklärung* is in large measure the story of reason's increasing importance in such decisions.

It has often been said that Christian Wolff was more rationalistically inclined than either Locke or Leibniz, since his system granted human reason a decisive voice not only in the judgment of revelation's origin but of its content as well:

> Da der göttliche Verstand die Quelle aller Wahrheiten ist, derselbe aber wegen seiner Vollkommenheit nichts wiedersprechendes hervorbringen kan; so kan auch dasjenige, was Gott soll geoffenbahret haben, den Wahrheiten der Vernunfft nicht zu wieder seyn.[51]

49. Cf. B. Pünjer, *History of the Christian Philosophy of Religion from the Reformation to Kant*. (Edinburg, 1887), pp. 488-514.

50. *Die philosophischen Schriften* (ed. Gerhardt), V, 485-509.

51. *Vernünfftige Gedancken von Gott, der Welt und der Seele des Menschen* . . . (ed. 4; Frankfurt and Leipzig, 1729), ¶ 1014, pp. 625 f.

At the same time, one should note that this strongly rationalistic declaration was immediately qualified by Wolff's cautious warning,

dass man sich hier in acht nehmen müsse, damit man nicht für Wahrheiten der Vernunfft annimmet, die keine sind, sondern nur von uns davor gehalten werden, noch auch für einen Wiederspruch hält, was in der That keiner ist.[52]

It seems clear that Wolff himself expected his theories to support rather than to oppose positive, revealed religion. He made this point more clearly in the preface to his later *Natürliche Gottesgelahrtheit* (1741), wherein he maintained that the truths of natural religion provided preparation and defense for those of revealed religion, for

diese Art zu philosophieren sei eine wichtige Hülfe bei der Auslegung der heiligen Schrift, und die natürliche Gottesgelahrtheit, indem sie zeige, wie man dadurch, dass man Gott diene, zur Glückseligkeit gelange, führe von selbst dahin, die Unzulänglichkeit der natürlichen Religion und die Vortrefflichkeit der geoffenbarten besser zu erkennen.[53]

Theologians of the Wolffian "school" also observed these practical limitations on reason, and this aspect of their method has been stressed by recent students of the period. As Aner has said:

Die Wolffische [Schule] sicherte prinzipiell der Vernunft das Recht, in Glaubensdingen entscheidend mitzusprechen. Noch wandte sie dies Recht faktisch nur im Nachweiss der Denkmöglichkeit der Dogmen an und gebrauchte es nie *gegen* die dogmatische Substanz . . .[54]

Cassirer, too, reached much the same conclusion, and found Locke, Leibniz, and Wolff in substantial agreement on this score.[55]

During the first half of the eighteenth century such limitations upon reason were opposed by many free-thinking Germans who found the ideas of the English Deists especially attractive. Johann Lorenz Schmidt's translation and annotation of the first five books of the Old Testament, *Die Göttlichen Schriften vor den Zeiten des Messie* . . . (Wertheim, 1735), the so-called "Wertheimer Bibel," sought to demonstrate that the holy writings contained nothing which reason also did not teach. The book created a sensation and was immediately banned, while the author was bundled off to prison. In the same year

52. *Ibid.*, p. 626.

53. Cf. K. Biedermann, *Deutschland im 18. Jahrhundert* (ed. 2; Leipzig, 1880), II, i, 400 f.

54. K. Aner, *Die Theologie der Lessingzeit* (Halle/Saale, 1929), p. 3.

55. E. Cassirer, *Die Philosophie der Aufklärung* (Tübingen, 1932), pp. 234 f.

there appeared the first of the fourteen volumes of Johann Christian Edelmann's *Unschuldige Wahrheiten,* which had much in common with the theories of Locke and the English Deists.

Recognition of the threat in these and similar works brought forth a number of tracts in defense of orthodoxy. Valentin Ernst Löscher had sensed the danger as early as 1701, when he had founded the journal, *Altes und Neues aus dem Schatz der theologischen Wissenschaft* to support *die reine Lehre.*[56] An oft quoted defense of orthodoxy was that of Johann Fabricius, the Helmstedt theologian, *Sylloge Scriptorum de Veritate Religionis Christianae,* which dealt in part with Locke's theories.[57] Fabricius' library contained many of Locke's works, and he had made a particular study of the *Reasonableness* and the *Paraphrases.*[58] The English opposition to Locke was also known in Germany. John Edwards' attack on Locke, *The Socinian Creed,* for example, was translated into German as *Der Socinianische Glaube* (Berlin, 1719), and numerous reviews in the periodicals referred to above also kept German scholars informed of the opposition to Locke. A famous collection of defenses of orthodoxy was made by the Hamburg scholar, Johann Albert Fabricius (not to be confused with the Helmstedt theologian), *Syllabus scriptorum, qui veritatem religionis Christianae adversus Epicuraeos, Deistas, seu Naturalistas, Judaeos et Muhamedanos asseruerunt* (1725).[59] In the same year appeared J. F. Reimann's orthodox defense under the title *Historia universalis Atheismi et Atheorum.* But such works failed to stem the rising tide of *Aufklärung.*[60] Locke's *Reasonableness* was first translated into Ger-

56. See his preface to vol. 1.

57. This work constituted a well known source of information on Locke's theories in eighteenth century Germany. It was singled out for especial mention on this score in Zedler's *Universallexikon,* XIII (article Locke) and also by Jakob Brucker in his *Kurtze Fragen aus der philosophischen Historie* 7 vols. (Ulm, 1731-1736), VII, 723.

58. See *Historia Bibliothecae Fabricianiae,* VI (1724), 465-67.

59. If Fabricius could have known, in 1728, that his son-in-law's claim to literary immortality was to rest upon his advocacy of extremely rationalistic religious theories, he might not have celebrated so light-heartedly in verse the marriage of his daughter to Professor Hermann Samuel Reimarus.

60. The famous divine, Christoph Matthäus Pfaff, gave thanks for such defensive efforts, but J. A. Ernesti, who had a more realistic attitude toward the current scene commented: "Der Herr Kanzler Pfaff bedauert, dass die deistischen Schriften ins Deutsche übersetzt wurden. Er hat Grund genug dazu. Er tröstet sich aber damit, dass auch die Vertheidigungsschriften gegen dieselben übersetzt würden. Dieser Trost ist nicht allezeit hinlänglich. Wir haben bemerkt, dass in diesen Schriften oft nicht viel

man in 1733 by Johann Christoph Meiningen;[61] the translation of the Deists began in 1741, when Johann Lorenz Schmidt, unchastened by his previous unfortunate experience, brought out a German version of Tindal's *Christianity as old as the Creation.* Thereafter Deistical writings and those of their opponents were translated with great frequency. The commentaries of the orthodox seem to have served to spread unwittingly the very theories they were opposing. Mosheim, for example, wrote about Toland; Jöcher discussed the theories of Morgan; Gründig, those of Herbert of Cherbury; Lemker of Woolston; and Thorschmid, whose *Freidenkerbibliothek* was a prime source of information on Deistical theories, devoted particular attention to Collins. In the preface to Thorschmid's work, the complaint was made that the Deists were read everywhere. Trinius' *Freidenkerlexikon* was also devoted to the defense of orthodoxy. Joh. Chr. Walch's *Compendium historiae ecclesiasticae* (1757) had the same purpose, and between 1772 and 1780 there followed Lilienthal's long defense of beleaguered revelation in *Die gute Sache der . . . Offenbarung . . . erwiesen und gerettet.* Despite the opposition, and to some extent because of it, the unorthodox theories of Locke and others continued to thrive. Both Lessing and Reimarus admitted that their urge to investigate for themselves the claims of the attackers was first aroused by this flood of orthodox defenses.[62]

gesagt ist, dass den Deisten Tort thun konnte" (*Neue Theologische Bibliothek,* I, 113).

61. *Johann Locks* (sic) *Gründlicher Beweiss, Dass die Christliche Religion, so wie sie uns in der Heil. Schrift vorgestellet wird, höchst billig, vernünftig, und Raisonnable sey. . . .* (Braunschweig, 1733). The work was based on the French translation of Pierre Coste (probably the second edition) although no indication of source was given. (Cf. Blassneck, *op. cit.,* pp. 33 f.) A later translation duly acknowledged the debt to Coste: *Des berühmten Engländers Johann Loke* (sic) *Vernunftmässiges Christenthum . . . Nebst einer Kurzen Abhandlung des Herrn Coste . . .* (Berlin and Leipzig, 1758-59). Coste's first version followed by one year the first appearance of the work in English: *Que la Religion Chrêtienne est très raisonnable telle qu'elle est representée dans l'Ecriture Sainte* (Amsterdam, 1696). Coste also translated the "Vindications" as: *Seconde partie du Christianisme Raisonnable . . .* (Amsterdam, 1703). A second revised edition of Coste's first translation followed under the title *Le Christianisme Raisonnable . . .* (Amsterdam, 1715). Third and fourth editions followed at Amsterdam in 1730 and 1741.

62. Cf. Lessing's unfinished essay, "Bibliolatrie," *Schriften* (ed. Lachmann-Munker) XVI, 470-76: "Nicht lange, und ich suchte jede neue Schrift *wider* die Religion nun eben so begierig auf, und schenkte ihr eben das geduldige unpartheyische Gehör, das ich sonst nur den Schriften *für* die Religion schuldig zu seyn glaubte" (p. 476).

Nor was this interest the sole prerogative of the theologians and scholars. Elements of the newer theories also made their way into several of the leading "moral weeklies." Like Locke these popular journals were especially interested in the concept of Christianity as an ethical system. In general they inclined toward Locke's position in the *Reasonableness.* The editors of the Hamburg *Patriot,* for example, believed not only in revelation as a source of ethical law, but also in an eternal, natural law discoverable by human reason.[63] Opposition to rationalistic ethics was deplored on the ground that reason too originated in God. Nor did the natural laws contradict Holy Scripture.[64] The *Patriot* freely admitted the superior force and completeness of revealed morality; it supplemented faulty and sometimes insufficient reason, but it should not be denied "dass die wahre Gottesgelahrtheit gar wohl eine kluge, aus der gesunden Vernuft fliessende Sittenlehre neben sich leiden könne."[65] The *Discourse der Mahlern* voiced similar opinions. As a student of theology in the early years of the century, Bodmer had found the prescribed orthodox readings little to his liking. "Ich fand mehr Geschmack," he wrote later in *Persönliche Anekdoten,* "an LeClerc's *Arte critica* und Locke's *Christianisme raisonnable.* . . ."[66] Breitinger too was an admirer of Locke,[67] and urged the readers of the *Discourse* to a fuller understanding of ethical laws through increased use of reason in the examination of self and of the external world.[68] A similar theme was developed in another discourse (by Zellweger), for whom the truly wise seekers after the Good were those

> welche . . . sich von der einfaltigen Natur, und von dem Licht einer gereinigten Vernunfft, die sich von allen Vorurtheilen und Aberglauben der eigensinnigen Welt losgerissen hat, führen lassen, und welche ihre Principia auf reale Wahrheiten stützen, die so wol aus der Revelation als der wahren Natur derer Sachen, die ihnen vor das Gesicht kommen, fliessen und genommen werden.[69]

63. *Patriot,* II, 94.
64. *Ibid.,* 89.
65. *Ibid.,* 4.
66. Reprinted in *Züricher Taschenbuch auf das Jahr 1892,* pp. 98 f.
67. Cf. *Chronick der Gesellschaft der Mahlern 1721-1722;* dedicatory epistle "to *The Spectator.*" Ed. T. Vetter, in *Bibliothek aelterer Schriftwerke der deutschen Schweiz.* Ser. II, Heft I, (Frauenfeld, 1887).
68. *Discourse der Mahlern* I, 13. See also II, 8.
69. *Ibid.,* I, 11.

Other prominent "moral weeklies" were in substantial accord, maintaining at once the validity of revealed morality and that of moral principles arrived at by the exercise of human reason.[70]

Gottsched, too, was vitally interested in the problem of rational ethics. Without denying the importance of divine revelation he was nonetheless primarily concerned with a reasoned derivation of moral laws. Of his aim in the *Biedermann* he wrote: "Ich will nur zeigen, was uns die Vernunft vom Tun und Lassen der Menschheit lehret. Diese lehret aber sehr viel; und in Wahrheit mehr als sich viele einbilden."[71] To illustrate the accomplishments of human reason in this field Gottsched pointed out that he knew of no place where the opposite of all Ten Commandments was the law: "Kann man nicht im Gegenteil zeigen, dass die allerschärfsten Regeln der jüdischen und Christlichen Sittenlehre, so gar die Liebe der Feinde nicht ausgenommen, in den philosophischen Büchern derer, die wir Heiden nennen, anzutreffen sind?"[72] Similarly Pierre Bayle had maintained that atheism did not necessarily imply complete absence of ethical principles, and Gottsched vigorously defended him whose *Dictionnaire* he later translated.[73] Thus with their interest in rational ethics, coupled with a continuing belief in positive revealed religion, the moral weeklies also typified the first stage of the theological *Aufklärung*.

A moral weekly might also hint at opposition to the orthodox theory of original sin. The *Patriot* did so, and brought forth thereby a storm of opposition pamphlets, one of which voiced the pious hope that the civil authorities would take action against a journal which presumed to ascribe to the human soul, even after its fall from grace, "einige selbst eigene Wirkungen zum Guten."[74] Here too the *Patriot* represented the first stage of the *Aufklärung*.

In the second stage of enlightenment, reason and revelation still existed side by side, though the former gained importance in deciding which doctrines actually constituted divine revelation, and which

70. Cf. *Matrone* (Hamburg) I, 1, 6, 8, 34; II, 26; III, 37; *Leipziger Socrates*, 1; *Leipziger Patriot*, 1; *Aufrichtiger Patriot*, I, 1.

71. *Biedermann*, II, 90.

72. *Ibid.*, II, 97.

73. *Ibid.*, II, 71.

74. *Des Reformirten Hamburgischen Patrioten, Erstes Stück*. Cf. M. Stecher, *Die Erziehungsbestrebungen der deutschen moralischen Wochenschriften*. Diss. Leipzig. (Langensalza, 1914), p. 44 and note 1.

were mere corruptions of the record in the course of history. In Germany this task was taken up by the Neologians, whose inspiration derived in considerable measure from Locke's *Reasonableness,* his *Paraphrases of St. Paul,* and his English disciples in Scriptural exegesis. In England Locke's *Paraphrases,* the fruits of his last years, appeared individually and posthumously between 1705 and 1707, and were then published collectively in 1707. They were included in the first edition of his collected works in 1714 and thereafter in all later editions of the *Works.* In his own country their publication was followed by a great number of similar commentaries, some admittedly based on Locke, and all sharing his aim to make the Scriptures "reasonable" while defending them against the attacks of the Deists. Three in the direct line from Locke were the *Miscellanea Sacra* (1725) of Lord Barrington and his son, *A Paraphrase . . . of St. Paul . . . After the Manner of Mr. Locke* (1733) by James Peirce, and William Dodd's three volume *Commentary on the Books of the Old and New Testament* [with] *the Notes and Collections of John Locke . . .* (1770).

About mid century Locke's theories also began to bear fruit in Germany in the work of such prominent Neologians as S. J. Baumgarten, Jerusalem, Ernesti, Michaelis, and Sack. Baumgarten, the Halle professor, was instrumental in the dissemination of English religious theories, and particularly those of the Deists, through his discussions and reviews in his *Nachrichten von einer Halleschen Bibliothek* (8 vols., 1748-1751).[75] While his philosophy was based on Wolffianism, which he continued to expound privately even during the period of Wolff's banishment, there is evidence that he was far from unaffected by the English theories he helped to spread. His pupil, Semler, wrote in his autobiography:

> Baumgarten nahm auch damals die Partei eines gelehrten englischen Deisten, und as war ein inniges Vergnügen, zu sehen, wie die ganz gemeine Theologie so gewaltig verlor, ohne dass die Christliche Religion dabei zu kurz kam.[76]

These were his private views, but he took care that no hint of them crept into his published works.[77] His more orthodox theories of Scriptural criticism, however, reached a wider audience in published form

75. And its continuation, *Nachrichten von merkwürdigen Büchern.* 12 vols. (1752-1757).

76. *Op. cit.,* I, 108.

77. *Loc. cit.*

as *Unterricht von Auslegung der heiligen Schrift* (1742). Here, and in his own Scriptural exegesis, he may be considered a follower of Locke, for the latter's *Paraphrases of St. Paul* served as a model for his *Auslegung der beyden Briefe S. Pauli an die Korinthier.*[78]

Locke's view of the doctrine of original sin was also paralleled by that of one of the foremost Neologians, the Abt Jerusalem. To justify his optimistic view of Christianity as an ethical system with human happiness as its goal, Locke had felt obliged to enter the ancient controversy concerning original sin[79] and establish his reasons for opposing the doctrine. In his *Predigten* (1745) Jerusalem was one of the first to combat the theory effectively in eighteenth century Germany. His optimistic faith in man's ultimate goodness and potentiality for self-improvement provided him with his conception of the essence of Christianity:

Wir können, ohne dem menschlichen Verderben eine Lobrede zu halten, behaupten, dass wir der Menschlichkeit oft zuviel tun. Die Ungerechtigkeit und Bosheit der Menschen sind freilich gross, aber unsere Klagen gehen oft zu weit . . .

God required of man rather "dass er die Vorzüge seiner Natur erkennen und sie in seinem Nächsten zugleich verehren soll . . . Dies ist der Sinn, dies ist der Geist der Christlichen Religion."[80]

Jerusalem also agreed with Locke in his theories regarding Scriptural interpretation, and the German preacher's suggestions were in large measure adopted by following Neologians. Significantly, the idea for a New Testament paraphrase came to him during a two and a half year stay in England (1738-1740) where he became acquainted with Sherlock, Whiston, Thomas (onetime pastor of the English congregation in Hamburg and a contributor to the *Patriot*), and Desmaizeaux, who had edited several of Locke's smaller works on religious and philosophical subjects. Of paraphrases Jerusalem later wrote to Gottsched:

Es fehlet uns noch gar zu sehr an einer vernünftigen paraphrasi fürnehmlich

78. Christophersen, *op. cit.*, p. 76.

79. I.e., the Lutheran, (or Augustinian) interpretation of the doctrine as opposed to the Pelagian denial of it.

80. Jerusalem, *Predigten* II, 416; 300. While young Goethe had only scorn for the more tasteless paraphrases of the Neologians, he shared with them nevertheless certain important theories, particularly those regarding the revelation of God in nature and the opposition to the doctrine of original sin. Cf. Aner, *op. cit.*, p. 310.

des NT., worin beständig die Historie des Buches oder der Gemeinde, an welche es geschrieben wird, zugrunde gelegt wird, und worin nach diesem Grundgesetze die natürlichen Begriffe einer jeden Redensart, ohne Absicht auf einiges Systema, entwickelt und in einem philosophischen Zusammenhang miteinander verbunden werden, wobei die wahre Bedeutung der particula, die der selige Luther fast immer durch "Und" und "Aber" aus Mangel genügsamer Hilfsmittel übersetzt hat, sehr vieles beitragen kann. Bei meinem Müssiggang in England habe ich mit etlichen Büchern auf die Art den Anfang gemacht.[81]

These are the principles which Locke had utilized in the *Reasonableness* and the *Paraphrases*. He had also devoted an entire chapter of the *Essay* to the discussion of particles.[82] But there is more definite evidence that Locke served as Jerusalem's inspiration, since he admitted to Gottsched a few months later that he considered the best example of an interpretation such as he desired to be John Locke's paraphrase of Romans.[83]

While Jerusalem himself never produced the suggested paraphrases,[84] there were others to take up the task. Soon a flood of translations of English commentaries appeared, accompanied and followed by German originals. Doddridge's *The Family Expositor* (1738 ff.) was translated by F. E. Rambach in 1750; Peirce's *Paraphrases and Notes* . . . (1727-1733) were translated in part into Latin by Michaelis in 1747. Peirce, it will be recalled, had patterned his work "after the manner of Mr. Locke." George Benson's various paraphrases on St. Paul (1724) and on the so-called Catholic epistles were also done into Latin by Michaelis in 1746. John Taylor's *Paraphrase . . . on . . . Romans* (1745) appeared in German in 1759, and Locke's own *Paraphrases* in 1768. The list could be easily extended.[85] German para-

81. 12. Jan. 1747. (Quoted Aner, *op. cit.*, p. 204).

82. *Essay*, III, vii.

83. A letter of April 10, 1747 (reproduced in Aner, *op. cit.*, p. 205).

84. Due largely to the fact that a paraphrase of Corinthians, which Jerusalem completed in England as a beginning for the work, had already been done in the same fashion by Mosheim before Jerusalem returned to Germany. To Gottsched (Jan. 12, 1747) Jerusalem commented: "Wer hätte . . . nicht geglaubt, . . . dass ich diesem grossen Manne hätte nachgeschrieben, zumal da, bei der Grundlegung von einerlei Historie, die Erklärung notwendig auch dieselbe werden musste." Mosheim's work was published as *Erklärung des ersten Briefes des heiligen Apostels Pauli an die Gemeinde zu Corinthus* (1741).

85. Cf. Wernle, *op. cit.*, I, 468 ff., and Aner, *op. cit.*, 208 f. In Bible translation the most popular work was the famous "Bible of Holland," edited by Pierre Chais in The Hague (1743). The annotations were taken from English commentaries by Patrick, Kidder, Ainsworth, Polus, Parker, Wells, Stackhouse and others. The German

phrases also appeared, for example, those of Michaelis of Galatians, Ephesians, Philippians, Colossians, and others. One of his predecessors was Joachim Oporin with his *Der Prophet Zacharias, übersetzt, umschrieben, zergliedert und mit Anmerkungen begleitet* (1747). In 1750 F. C. Oetinger published his *Psalmenkommentar,* and there were numerous paraphrases by Semler.

Johann David Michaelis was especially active in the dissemination of the English theories. He had passed the year 1740 and 1741 in England, and freely admitted in his autobiography that these years had been decisive in the formulation of his theories.[86] With Locke's work he was on the best of terms, as might be expected. When the *Paraphrases* were translated in 1768, Michaelis provided the preface,[87] wherein he drew attention to Locke's comparative unfamiliarity with Greek and Hebrew, but stated that the *Paraphrases* constituted otherwise a near-perfect work. A contemporary reviewer for the *Allgemeine Deutsche Bibliothek*[88] also expressed satisfaction that the work had finally been translated and wondered what had prevented translation previously, since he recognized that several German investigators in the field had been affected by Locke's work: ". . . man müsste denn sagen, dass es von den neuen guten Auslegern unter uns ziemlich genutzt worden, und also der Erfolg seiner eifrigen Untersuchung nicht unbekannt geblieben ist."

Another prominent Neologian who acknowledged the inspiration of Locke was the famous J. A. Ernesti, whose studies provided his colleagues with classical examples of the historico-philological examination of the Scriptures. These important studies culminated in his *Institutio interpretis Novi Testamenti* (1761).[89] In a discussion of

translation of this work (1749) was justly called *Das englische Bibelwerk.* The same spirit of liberal rationalism may be seen in Tillotson's sermons, which Mosheim translated into German and Jean Barbeyrac into French (1738).

86. Cf. H. Hettner, *Literaturgeschichte des achtzehnten Jahrhunderts.* Teil III, (ed. 7; 1925 f.), ii, 33.

87. *Johann Lockes paraphrastische Erklärung und Anmerkungen über S. Pauli Briefe an die Galater, Korinthier, Römer und Epheser,* . . . übersetzt . . . von D. Johann Georg Hofmann . . . Nebst einer Vorrede von Joh. Dav. Michaelis 2 Bände. (Frankfurt a.M., 1768-1769). A separate version of "Romans" appeared as *Lockes Paraphrase des Briefes an die Römer* (Frankfurt and Leipzig, 1773).

88. Anhang zu Bd. XII (1771), 1022 ff.

89. A second edition followed in 1765, and a third in 1774. Other previous works included *Prolusio de glossariorum graecorum vera indole et recto usu* (1741); *Prolusio*

Locke's *Paraphrases,* Ernesti, like Michaelis, commented on the author's insufficient command of languages, but acknowledged that he had learned from Locke "die rechte Methode der Auslegung."[90]

Locke's position in the *Reasonableness* regarding reason and revelation was also paralleled by that of a leading Neologian, A. F. W. Sack, *Hofprediger* at Berlin from 1740. Sack had studied in Frankfurt a. O. and in Holland, which may well have helped to turn his attention to the Remonstrants, Locke, and the Deists. In any event, we are told that, in the period immediately following his university studies, Sack devoted careful attention to the works of Locke, Toland, Morgan, and Collins.[91] In his *Verteidigter Glaube der Christen* (Berlin 1748-1751), Sack acknowledged revelation as a necessity in the search for religious truth, but reason too had its place as he wrote:

> Ich wollte von Herzen wünschen, dass ein jeder, dem die Sache Jesu Christi heilig ist, sein ganzes angenommenes Lehrgebäude nach der klaren Vorschrift der Offenbarung Stück vor Stück prüfen und selber durchdenken, und dabei die Vorstellungen und Gründe genau erwägen wollte, die man nötig hat, wenn man den Glauben der Christen zu seiner ursprünglichen Einfalt und Vernünftigkeit zurückbringen und wider die verschiedenen Anfälle seiner Feinde verteidigen will.[92]

The popularity of Locke's *Paraphrases* was further attested in Joh. Fr. Jacobi's *Abhandlung über wichtige Gegenstände der Religion* (1773), where, in his discussion of the requirements for the Scriptural investigator, Jacobi noted that in the case of Paul, for example, the critic was faced with the problem of interpreting the philosophic writings of an extensively learned man. Hence, any satisfactory examination of Paul required a similarly gifted investigator. Locke, said Jacobi, had been eminently fitted for the task, and the popularity of his work was evidence of his success.[93]

Such theories were also receiving attention beyond the circle of theologians. Their application to the realm of ethics was the principal

de difficultatibus N T. recte interpretandi (1748); *Disp. philol. de difficultate interpretationis grammaticae N T.* (1755).

90. *Neue Theologische Bibliothek,* x, 283.

91. *Lebensbeschreibung,* ed. F. G. Sack. 2 vols. (Berlin, 1789). Cf. Hettner, *op. cit.,* III, ii, 35.

92. Quoted Aner, *op. cit.,* p. 63.

93. See the contemporary review in *Allgemeine deutsche Bibliothek,* XXV (1775) 1, 73.

aim of Gotthilf Samuel Steinbart, professor at the University of Frankfurt a. O., in his *System der reinen Philosophie oder Glückseligkeitslehre des Christentums, für die Bedürfnisse seiner aufgeklärten Landsleute und Andrer, die nach Weisheit fragen, eingerichtet* (1778), which Herder once termed "unwidersprechlich schön und brauchbar." As the title indicated, Steinbart was convinced of man's ultimate goodness, and assumed the possibility of his attaining earthly happiness. His favorite authors, who were admittedly Locke and Foster,[94] would confirm him in these views.

Elements of Neologian theory and practice were also present in the works of Herder. While he cannot be classed as a Neologian he was at least a fellow traveler, with his historical criticism of Bible passages,[95] for example, *Die Mosaische Schöpfungs-geschichte: keine Offenbarung Gottes über den Hergang der Schöpfung,* or his *Erläuterungen zum N T. aus einer Neu-eröffneten morganländischen Quelle* (1775). He was well acquainted with the numerous English paraphrases which had become popular in Germany and once stated that the best among them were those of Locke, Benson, Clarke, Taylor, and Whitby.[96] He was convinced that acquaintance with them had been valuable for Germany, and he described the impact of these and similar works on German theological thought thus:

> Hats Deutschland genutzt oder geschadet, dass Spalding, Felix Hess, Sack, Bamberger u. a. uns mit Foster und Shaftesbury, Buttler und Law, Benson und Locke bekannt gemacht haben? Zuerst schrie alles: Naturalismus! Deismus! Arianer! Socinianer! Das Christentum geht unter, wenn den Übersetzern nicht mit Gewalt gesteuert wird! Der Erfolg hat anders gewiesen.

The general result, he continued, had been a healthy one for Germany. In particular he acknowledged the beneficial effects of English inspiration on Michaelis:

> Irre dich nicht, so war es die Bekanntschaft mit Engländern, Locke, Benson, Lardner u. f. die Michaelis, z. E. aus der engern Bahn seiner Vorgänger zog, und hat seine tiefere Critik, seine Gelehrsamkeit, sein Scharffsinn Deutschland genutzt oder geschadet?[97]

94. Cf. Aner, *op. cit.*, p. 86.

95. Cf. Herder, *Sämmtliche Werke,* 33 vols. (ed. Suphan; Berlin 1877-1913), VI, 76 ff.

96. *Briefe, das Studium der Theologie betreffend.* Zweiter Teil, 1780. (*Werke* X, 260).

97. *Ibid.,* Fünfter Teil, 1781 (*Werke* XI, 205).

With the Neologians Locke's religious views thus attained a high point of popularity.

The culminating stage of the theological *Aufklärung* was reached when reason came to overshadow revelation in the discovery of religious truth. This position was most nearly approached by Locke in the *Essay,* and in Germany we might mention as representatives of such a view Hermann Samuel Reimarus, Moses Mendelssohn, and Lessing.

Reimarus' discussion of the question was divided into two main sections: the negative, wherein the importance of revelation was entirely denied, and the positive, which established a "natural" religion based exclusively on reason. The principal arguments against revelation appeared posthumously in *Apologie oder Schutzschrift für die vernünftigen Verehrer Gottes* (1774 ff.),[98] while the second discussion appeared during Reimarus' lifetime as *Abhandlung von den vornehmsten Wahrheiten der natürlichen Religion* (1754). Certain of the negative arguments would have aroused Locke's sympathy, for example the denial of the doctrine of original sin, but on the whole Reimarus' extension of rational analysis went beyond even Locke's position in the *Essay.*

A closer connection, however, may be pointed out between the ideas of Locke and Mendelssohn. The German philosopher, like Locke in the *Essay,* applied the test of reason to religious doctrines, but with results far different from those of Reimarus. Mendelssohn, too, felt that reason and revelation should complement rather than contradict one another, but reason would lead the way. Unlike the rationalistic Christians, Mendelssohn asserted that he was not obliged to discard, as a consequence of reasoned investigation, any of the tenets of his religion:

> Die Religion meiner Väter weiss, was die Hauptgrundsätze betrifft, nichts von Geheimnissen, die wir glauben und nicht begreiffen mussten. Unsere Vernunft kann ganz gemächlich von den ersten sicheren Grundbegriffen der menschlichen Erkenntniss ausgehen und versichert sein, am Ende die Religion auf eben dem Wege anzutreffen. Hier ist kein Kampf zwischen Religion und Vernunft, kein Aufruhr unserer natürlichen Erkenntniss wider die unterdrückende Gewalt des Glaubens. . . .[99]

98. Published in part as the famous "Fragmente . . . Aus den Papieren eines Ungenannten" by Lessing (1774 f.).

99. *Betrachtungen über Bonnet's Palingenesie: Schriften* III, 164. (= Gesammelte *Schriften,* ed. G. B. Mendelssohn, 1843-1845; 8 vols.)

Mendelssohn's position thus had much in common with Locke's strongly rationalistic attitude in the *Essay* regarding the efficacy of reason in the discovery of religious truth, and the possibility of a purely reasoned, "mathematical" ethics. It is noteworthy in this connection that Mendelssohn had become thoroughly familiar with Locke's *Essay* early in his career. Nicolai, in his annotations to Mendelssohn's correspondence with Lessing, has described how Moses taught himself Latin with the aid of a dictionary and a Latin edition of Locke's work:

> Moses musste alle Kräfte seines Geistes durch eigenes Bestreben entwickeln; denn eigentlich hatte er gar keine Anweisung . . . [Er] war so dürftig, dass er eine ziemliche Zeitlang sparen musste, um eine lateinische Übersetzung von Locke's Werk "vom menschlichen Verstande" alt zu kaufen, welches ihm grosse Freude machte. Dies Werk suchte er mit unbeschreiblicher Mühe zu entziffern; er schlug jedes Wort, das er nicht verstand (und das waren die meisten) im Lexikon nach, und schrieb es auf, bis ein paar Perioden da waren. Alsdann dachte er den Inhalt nach. Durch Nachdenken suchte er den Verstand zu errathen; und wenn er ihn gefunden zu haben glaubte, verglich er ihn wieder, so weit seine Kenntniss der Sprache reichte, mit dem Wortverstande.[100]

Thus steeped in Lockian theory, he soon passed on to the study of English and French, and with some direction from Aron Gumperz, a Berlin student who helped to introduce him to the study of contemporary philosophy, he turned his attention to Leibniz and Wolff. Of his spiritual debt to these three he wrote in 1755:

> Euch Locke und Wolff, und Dir unsterblicher Leibniz, stifte ich ein ewiges Denkmal in meinen Herzen; . . . Eure unvergänglichen Schriften . . . haben mich auf den sicheren Weg zur wahren Weltweisheit, zur Erkenntnis meiner selbst und meines Ursprungs geleitet; sie haben die heiligen Wahrheiten in meine Seele gegraben, auf die sich meine Glückseligkeit gründet; sie haben mich erbaut.[101]

Mendelssohn's interest in Locke and subsequently in other English philosophers increased, even at the expense of German, and he later wrote to Lessing: "Nur Locke, Klark und etwa Shaftesbury sind in meinen Augen wahre Weltweisen."[102]

The development of Lessing's view of the reason-revelation problem extended over a period of many years, but the position at which he

100. Mendelssohn, *Schriften*, V, 206.
101. *Briefe über die Empfindung: Schriften*, I, 128 f.
102. Lessing, *Schriften*, XIX, 123; dated 27 Feb., 1758.

finally arrived in the *Erziehung des Menschengeschlechts* is of particular interest to us. It contained certain elements of the familiar Lockian theory[103] interpreted now in the light of a theory of history as a process of connected development, of progressive education of the human race.[104]

Like Locke, in the more orthodox *Reasonableness,* Lessing could affirm the efficacy of revelation as a quicker means of educating the human race in necessary truths. Indeed, for Lessing revelation and education were but different aspects of the same process: "Was die Erziehung bey dem einzeln Menschen ist, ist die Offenbarung bey dem ganzen Menschengeschlechte."[105] The only advantage in revelation was the one Locke had ascribed to it in the *Essay:*

> Erziehung giebt dem Menschen nichts, was er nicht auch aus sich selbst haben könnte: sie giebt ihm das, was er aus sich selber haben könnte, nur geschwinder und leichter. Also giebt auch die Offenbarung dem Menschengeschlechte nichts, worauf die menschliche Vernunft, sich selbst überlassen, nicht auch kommen würde: sondern sie gab und giebt ihm die wichtigsten dieser Dinge nur früher.[106]

Preserving throughout the following discussion the metaphor of the progressive education of child and youth, paralleled by the ethical education of man in the childhood and youth of the human race, Lessing also entertained hope that eventually a third and higher stage would be reached:

> Du hast in der Kindheit des Menschengeschlechts an der Lehre von der Einheit Gottes gesehen, dass Gott auch blosse Vernunftswahrheiten unmittelbar offenbaret . . . um sie geschwinder zu verbreiten, und sie fester zu gründen. Du erfährst, in dem Knabenalter des Menschengeschlechts, an der Unsterblichkeit der Seele, das Nehmliche. Sie wird in dem zweyten bessern Elementarbuche als Offenbarung gepredigt, nicht als Resultat menschlicher Schlüsse *gelehret.*

103. Cf. Aner, *op. cit.,* 355 f., and Arthur v. Arx, *Lessing und die geschichtliche Welt* (Frauenfeld and Leipzig, 1944), p. 131 (= Wege zur Dichtung. Ed. Ermatinger, XLIII).

104. Here, too, Lessing could build upon the efforts of enlightened predecessors; of Leibniz, with his theory of the "perfectability of the monads"; of S. J. Baumgarten and Semler in the realm of *Kirchengeschichte;* cf. E. Kretzschmar, *Lessing und die Aufklärung* (Leipzig, 1905), pp. 98 ff.; of Ferguson in his *Essay on the History of Civil Society* (1766); cf. H. Leisegang, *Lessings Weltanschauung* (Leipzig, 1931), pp. 114 ff., and of several others.

105. *Die Erziehung des Menschengeschlechts,* ¶ 1: *Schriften,* XIII, 416.

106. *Ibid.,* ¶ 4: *Schriften,* XIII, 416.

So wie wir zur Lehre von der Einheit Gottes nunmehr des Alten Testaments entbehren können; so wie wir allmälig, zur Lehre von der Unsterblichkeit der Seele, auch des Neuen Testaments entbehren zu können anfangen: könnten in diesem nicht noch mehr dergleichen Wahrheiten vorgespiegelt werden, die wir als Offenbarungen so lange anstaunen sollen, bis sie die Vernunft aus ihren andern ausgemachten Wahrheiten herleiten und mit ihnen verbinden lernen?[107]

Lessing's interpretation here of the reason-revelation relationship was somewhat akin to Locke's but it also differed from Locke's views as set forth in both the *Reasonableness* and the *Essay*. In the latter Locke had maintained that the path of reason provided "a natural and surer means" to arrive at truth. In the *Reasonableness* he stressed rather the obstacles along this path and declared revelation to be "a surer and shorter way" to the goal. With these conflicting statements Lessing could be said to agree only with reservations. For him the statements of the *Reasonableness* could be valid only on the present, lower stage of human understanding; the statement in the *Essay* only on a future, higher level. Yet he would not despair of reason's eventual triumph. In his interpretation of history "reason, truth, and God himself are imbedded in the historical evolution of the human race . . . truth is imminent in historical development."[108]

Thus the distinguishing element in Lessing's position, which set him apart from his predecessors at home and abroad, was his newly found historical perspective. From this vantage point he could avoid, on the one hand, the dualistic view which characterized the earlier *Aufklärung*,[109] with its troublesome problem regarding which doctrines were to be considered capable of rational analysis, and which ones undemonstrable revelation; Lessing dissolved the distinction. All doctrines were to be ultimately capable of rational analysis. On the other hand, with the patience implicit in his historical approach, he could avoid the difficulties besetting those extreme rationalists who would discard all doctrines not capable of present demonstration. He freely admitted that certain individuals might well be farther advanced than the general in their search for truth, but he also warned them against introducing their ideas prematurely into a society not yet pre-

107. *Ibid.*, ¶ 70 ff.: *Schriften*, XIII, 430.

108. M. Jolles, "Lessing's Conception of History," *Modern Philology*, XLIII (1946), 175-91; pp. 186 f.

109. in Unger's phrase, "ein . . . unhaltbares Kompromiss": *Hamann und die Aufklärung* (Jena, 1911), I, 57.

pared to receive them. It might be well, he added, for such gifted individuals to devote themselves rather to a re-examination of their arguments.[110]

For Lessing, the passing centuries would eventually bring all mankind to the third and highest stage of human development. Revelation might lead the way, but reason must be exercised in spiritual matters to enable man to practice virtue, not because of external compulsion, but for love of virtue per se:

> Er [der Verstand] will schlechterdings an geistigen Gegenständen geübt seyn, wenn er zu seiner völligen Aufklärung gelangen, und diejenige Reinigkeit des Herzens hervorbringen soll, die uns, die Tugend um ihrer selbst willen zu lieben, fähig macht.[111]

Having served as a stimulus to prominent scholars, theologians, and others in Germany from early in the century, Locke's two-fold interpretation of the reason-revelation relationship thus reached a synthesis in Lessing.

At the outset of the period of enlightenment, Locke's importance was acknowledged by Thomasius, who exemplified a tendency away from Pietism toward a more rationalistic approach to religious problems. Leibniz and Wolff, like Locke in one stage of his development, typified the "supernatural rationalists." Leading Neologians then adopted and developed Locke's theories on scriptural criticism and prepared the way not only for the following rationalists, but also for the important nineteenth century historical study of the Scriptures and other religious writings. Thus Locke provided stimulating discussions of several dominant problems of the religious *Aufklärung:* reason versus revelation, the "reasonable" interpretation of the Scriptures, and rational ethics. Prominent Germans of varying shades of enlightened opinion shared his views, and many of them openly acknowledged the inspiration they derived from him. The discussion of Lockian ideas in Germany thus helped to focus attention upon English thought and promoted interest in English literature, which, beginning about 1720, constituted an important cultural development in eighteenth century Germany.

110. *Erziehung . . .* ¶ 68 f.: *Schriften,* XIII, 429 f.
111. *Ibid.,* ¶ 80: *Schriften,* XIII, 432.

THIRD MACCABEES AND GREEK ROMANCE

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BECAUSE OF ITS TITLE (which is inappropriate, for the events it purports to describe took place half a century before the Maccabean uprising), and because of its inclusion in Septuagint manuscripts, it has been customary to regard III Maccabees[1] as other books in the biblical tradition, canonical and extra-canonical, are regarded, that is, as history, however imperfectly presented, rather than frankly as belles-lettres. So regarded, the exaggerations in III Maccabees are so fantastic and its rhetorical flourishes so absurd as to cast grave doubt on the good faith of the author. There can be no question that the aim of the book is edification, but the suggestion will here be made that the author had no thought of presenting his work as sober history, but that it is intended as "wholesome" fiction, and that its affinities are not with the canonical and extra-canonical historical books of the Bible but rather with the Greek romances.

III Maccabees tells how the Jewish community of Egypt was providentially delivered from execution (by being trampled by maddened elephants) upon the orders of Ptolemy IV Philopator, who was incensed because the Jews at Jerusalem had refused him admission to the Temple. The short account of the battle of Raphia (217 B.C.) with which the book opens rests on a sound source, though it differs in detail from the full account of the battle in Polybius.[2] But the *terminus post quem* has been fairly definitely fixed at *ca.* 100 B.C.,[3] and certain premises concerning the status of Egyptian Jews with reference to citizenship and taxation would fix the date to a period shortly after Egypt became a Roman province, perhaps 25 B.C. or so.[4] Philopator's

1. Earlier literature is cited in C. W. Emment's introduction and translation in R. H. Charles, *The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament* (Oxford, 1913), I, 155-73. See also E. Bickermann in *Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll*, 14. 797-800 (1930), and J. Cohen, *Judaica et Aegyptiaca: De Maccabaeorum Libro III Quaestiones Historicae* (Groningen, 1941).

2. The source has been plausibly conjectured to be Ptolemy Megalopolitanus; Polybius' account is to be found at 5.40 ff. and 5.82 ff.

3. E.g., by Bickerman, *loc. cit.* Cohen *(op. cit.)* dates the book between 88 and 77 B.C.

4. The papyri materials and their interpretation to yield this date are discussed in

first measure against the Jews is to have them enrolled in a *laographia* or census, which we know from the papyri meant obligation for a poll tax, which, under the Romans, was the distinguishing mark of the non-citizen, for people with full citizen rights were exempt from laographia. In III Maccabees itself (2:30) the obligation for laographia is contrasted with the possession of citizen rights. Previously, though the position of the Jews had been somewhat anomalous, it had been possible for many to claim citizenship, which was of paramount importance, and the sudden deprivation must have been a shock and probably caused violent disturbances. Many things in III Maccabees become clear if this was its actual background. Criticism of Philopator was probably understood by the book's first readers to apply to Roman officials; indeed it is hard to imagine such outspoken criticism of a Ptolemy before 30 B.C., when the dynasty was still ruling.

It must be noticed that the central theme of the book—a royal decree for the annihilation of the Jews, a providential deliverance with permission for the Jews to wreak vengeance upon their enemies, and the commemoration of the miracle by an annual festival—occurs in other books. One is the story of Esther, which some (but by no means all) scholars take to be a masked allusion to some situation in Egyptian Jewish history. There would seem to be a strong presumption that the author of III Maccabees knew the Book of Esther, and a note in the LXX Esther indicates that the book was brought to Egypt after 77 B.C.[5] More unmistakable is the parallel in Josephus (*Against Apion* 2.53-55), which is short enough to quote:[6]

> For Ptolemy Physcon . . . had arrested all the Jews in the city with their wives and children and exposed them, naked and in chains, to be trampeled to death by elephants, the beasts actually being made drunk for the purpose. However, the outcome was the reverse of his intention. The elephants, without

V. Tcherikover, *The Jews in Egypt in the Hellenistic-Roman Age in the Light of the Papyri* (Hebrew, with English summary) (Jerusalem, 1945), 90 ff.

5. LXX Esther bears a colophon saying that the "Epistle" was brought to Egypt "in the fourth year of the reign of Ptolemy and Cleopatra by Dositheus, who declared himself a priest and Levite." E. Bickermann, in "The Colophon of the Greek Book of Esther," *Journal of Biblical Literature*, LXIII (1944), 339-62, proves that the year was 77 B.C. It is argued by those who date III Maccabees anterior to 77 that its author would surely have included the Esther story in the catalogue of deliverances at 6-1 ff. if he had known of it. On the other hand, Esther may simply have been too recent for III Maccabees to include it among classic deliverances, and, in fact, the whole list seems to be reproduced from some liturgical piece.

6. Translation of H. St. J. Thackeray, in Loeb Classical Library.

touching the Jews at their feet, rushed at Physcon's friends and killed a large number of them. Afterwards Ptolemy saw a terrible apparition, which forbade him to injure these people. His favorite concubine (some call her Ithaca, others Irene) adding her entreaty to him not to perpetrate such an enormity, he gave way and repented of his past actions and further designs. That is the origin of the well-known feast which the Jews of Alexandria keep, with good reason, on this day, because of the deliverance so manifestly vouchsafed to them by God.

The Physcon here referred to is Ptolemy IX (146-117 B.C.). The incident referred to, whatever its historicity, is certainly identical with that of III Maccabees. It may be, as has been suggested,[7] a "memory" version of III Maccabees; on the other hand, though Josephus probably wrote a full century after III Maccabees, his story is much the more credible and may be nearer history. If Josephus' attribution of date is correct, even the author of III Maccabees was a century removed from the events, and may have added another half century in order to motivate his story by the Temple episode. In any case, we seem to have a central situation at the root of all three accounts (and perhaps of the Book of Judith and other works also) which the authors felt at liberty to vary or expand.

Whatever the crisis may have been which called forth the Book of Esther, that book was intended for internal consumption by Jews, to strengthen their faith and their pride in the face of the oppression or contempt of a dominant environment. Josephus, on the other hand, addressed himself to the outer world as well, and here it must be noticed that his and similar Jewish literary efforts to present the cultural claims of a depressed people to a politically dominant environment were not unique. Culture in the Hellenistic *oikoumene* reached an unparalleled degree of external uniformity, but pride in disparate national traditions persisted, and, among peoples whose political independence had been suppressed, there was felt a need, bound up with motives of religion, to assert the antiquity and dignity of individual national traditions against the competing traditions, chiefly, of course, the dominant Greek. Very early in the Hellenistic period, the Babylonian Berossus, priest of Bel, dedicated his *Babyloniaca* to Antiochus I Soter, and Manetho, High Priest at Heliopolis, his *Aegyptiaca* to Ptolemy Philadelphus. Though these competing works (of which

7. C. C. Torrey, *The Apocryphal Literature* (New Haven, 1945), p. 80.

fragments are extant in later historians) had the same "apologetic" character as may be seen in Josephus, like Josephus they adhered more or less closely to received history and chronology. But, in course of time, individual heroes (apparently one for each people) out of a remote historical past were glorified in fanciful tales with numerous accretions of the miraculous. These tales were a focus for cultural survival and lent their readers a pride in their past which helped them bear the rebuffs of a disagreeable present.[8] Except for the familiar *Alexander Romance,* these writings have largely vanished, but there must have been hero-romances on the Assyrian Semiramis, the Egyptian Sesostris, the Phrygian Manes.[9]

Of one developed type of this literature, an example of the first importance for the history of the Greek romance, fragments were first published in 1893. This is the so-called *Ninus Romance,* in which the eponymus hero of Nineveh, represented as a youthful king of bewildering prowess, is in love with Derceia, apparently an adaptation of the goddess Derceto. The calligraphy of the fragments dates them to between 100 B.C. and A.D. 50.[10] It now seems probable that the genre of Greek novels (which leave history further and further behind as they develop) derived from such historical fiction. For our present purpose, it is important to notice, for example, that the earliest in the series of Greek romances (of which the extant complete representatives are Chariton, Xenophon of Ephesus, Longus, Heliodorus, and Achilles Tatius), the *Chaereas and Callirhoe* of Chariton,[11] starts by introduc-

8. A stimulating and suggestive work on this topic is M. Braun, *History and Romance in Graeco-Oriental Literature* (Oxford, 1938).

9. Braun deals with these at length, and quotes as a "suitable introduction" Plutarch, *Isis and Osiris* 360B: "However, mighty deeds of Semiramis are celebrated among the Assyrians, and mighty deeds of Sesostris in Egypt, and the Phrygians, even to this day, call brilliant and marvellous exploits 'manic' because Manes, one of their very early kings, proved himself a good man and exercised a vast influence among them" (F. C. Babbitt, *Loeb*). All three of these figures are ancient to Herodotus.

10. They were first published by U. Wilcken in *Hermes* (1893), pp. 161 ff., and can be most conveniently read with S. Gaselee's translation in an appendix to the Loeb *Daphnis and Chloe*. The place of the *Ninus Romance* in the history of Greek fiction is admirably dealt with by R. M. Rattenbury, "Traces of Lost Greek Novels," in J. U. Powell, *New Chapters in the History of Greek Literature,* 3rd ser. (Oxford, 1933), pp. 211-19. Additional Ninus fragments have been published by Medea Norsa, "Un Frammento del Romanzo di Mino," *Scritti Dedicati alla Memoria di Ippolito Rosellini* (Florence, 1945), pp. 191-98.

11. Chariton has been admirably edited (Oxford, 1938) and translated (Ann Arbor,

ing the heroine as the daughter of "Hermocrates, general of Syracuse, the one who defeated the Athenians." We know from Thucydides that Hermocrates was indeed the Syracusan leader, and allusions to the Sicilian war are fairly frequent in the book. The other romances of the series also refer, usually obliquely, to historical events and presuppose a rather definite historical background for their stories, but in none is such a familiar and datable figure used as a point of departure. A lucky papyrus discovery of fragments of Chariton's book, which scholars used to date to the fifth century A.D., has proved that it was actually written not later than the middle of the second century A.D., since it is manifestly not the first of its kind, it is quite likely that similar techniques were employed in secular books when III Maccabees was written.

Unlike as the books are in temper and purpose, they nevertheless show striking resemblances: (1) To begin with, there is the introduction of a well-known character from a familiar period of history, to give verisimilitude as well as background; in both cases the connection of the character with the body of the story is not essential. If III Maccabees does indeed belong to the tradition represented by Chariton, it becomes less necessary to assert the historicity of Ptolemy Philopator's connection with the story.

(2) It is virtually a fixed element in the romances that the denouement is presented in a quasi-judicial or judicial process before a large assembly, where the hero or heroine is brought to the very brink of horrible destruction and then by a sudden reversal, through an agency which seems providential, is not only delivered but gains the upper hand, to the applause of the multitude. The closest parallel to III Maccabees in the extant romances, in this respect, is the closing scene in Heliodorus' *Aethiopica,* but each has at least a partial denouement in a quasi-judicial scene. In Heliodorus and Achilles Tatius there are public trials of female virtue by ordeal, and in Heliodorus there are savage animals and the imminent threat of the sacrifice of hero and heroine.[12]

(3) The interest in special religious cults and the prominence given

1939) by W. E. Blake. On chronology etc. of the romances, see Elizabeth H. Haight, *Essays on the Greek Romances* (New York, 1943).

12. The denouement in a public assembly occurs in Greek fiction of types other than the romance, e.g., in Dio Chrysostom 7, *The Hunters of Euboea.*

to ritual and prayer and the responses to prayer are so marked in the romances that many scholars have regarded the religious element as paramount.[13] If the attentive loyalty to a deity and the consequent reward in later works like Longus' *Daphnis and Chloe* and in Achilles Tatius, seem to be of the nature of pure literary ornament following the demands of a tradition, there can be little question of the genuine regard of Heliodorus for the Egyptian priest, Calasiris, and his cult. In III Maccabees the long prayers offered by the priests, Simon (2:1-20) and Eleazar (6:1-15), are so thoroughly in the tradition of Hebrew prayer and correspond so closely to the form of extant Hebrew prayers, and their language is so noble in its simplicity and so free from the curled rhetoric of other intense passages, that one is almost tempted to think them the original elements to which the story was then attached. Each is spectacularly answered, and the two consequent reversals are the two high points of the story. Allusions to earlier literature which the reader is expected to recognize characterize all the romances, perhaps Chariton in special degree. In III Maccabees there is much poetic language which might possibly recall classical passages to scholarly readers, but the palpable allusions (especially in the prayers) are to Hebrew literature. For what the parallel may be worth, the technique is the same. An analogous element is the use of quoted letters, which are common in the romances and of which there are two (3:12-30 and 6:41-7.9) in III Maccabees, each observing correct chancelry forms.

(4) Rohde's long-held thesis that the romances were the creation of the so-called Second Sophistic is disproven by the new chronology, but it remains true that the romances are highly rhetorical in character, and indulge in extravagant purple patches at pathetic junctures in their stories. Of all the non-canonical books, III Maccabees is surely the most rhetorical, the colors being laid on thick at the crucial points where Ptolemy demands admission to the Temple, and where the Egyptian Jews are driven to the hippodrome. At both passages the pathos is heightened by having irrelevant brides torn from their nuptial chambers and by the introduction of babies. In these passages especially, the reader of Greek romances finds himself on very familiar

13. E.g., E. Rohde, *Die griechische Roman und seine Vorläufer*[2] (Leipzig, 1900), and K. Kerenyi, *Die griechische-orientalische Romanliteratur in religions-geschichtlicher Beleuchtung* (Tübingen, 1927).

ground, and it is just such passages which make the reader looking for history uncomfortable.

(5) Exaggerations in numbers make the sober historian even more uncomfortable. Early commentators wondered whether natural increase could explain the presence of 500 elephants when there were only 73 at Raphia. The registration itself had to be given up after forty days of steady writing from dawn to dark, because the paper factories and the writing reeds were exhausted (4:20), and even so, we discover subsequently, many of the provincial Jews had not left their homes. Surely this is rhetorical exaggeration in the accepted tradition of the romances, and the author would be startled to find readers troubled by the physical improbabilities.

What makes it most difficult to regard III Maccabees as a Greek romance, naturally, is the absence of the erotic element and of a personal hero. The hero is obviously all of Israel, a concept perfectly familiar from Scripture, for example in Deutero-Isaiah's use of the Suffering Servant. As individual hero to represent the people (on the analogy of Semiramis and Sesostris) it appears that only Moses could serve, and it is to be remarked that in two other religious belletristic works which derive from Alexandrian Jewry, the epic of the Elder Philo and the tragedy on the Exodus by Ezekielos, Moses appears to have been the central figure. It may be suggested (with great hesitancy, to be sure) that the otiose brides snatched from their bridal chambers are introduced as the only possible surrogate for an erotic element.

In view of the essential dissimilarity exemplified by the lack of heroic lovers, perhaps none of the factors listed above, nor indeed the sum of them, is sufficient to establish a definite relationship to the Greek romance, but their presence in III Maccabees should in any case be sufficient to show that that book was intended to be regarded as other than history. A final suggestion may be made as to its purpose, aside from the obvious aims of edification, encouragement, and perhaps as reflecting a historical event, on the basis of comparison with another product of Alexandrian Jewry which stands very close to III Maccabees in style. The *Letter of Aristeas,*[14] which presents the legend of the genesis of the Septuagint translation, represents the relationship of the seventy translators and their royal hosts as most cordial and

14. For Aristeas see H. G. Meecham, *The Oldest Version of the Bible: Aristeas on Its Traditional Origin* (London, 1932), and *The Letter of Aristeas* (Manchester, 1935).

characterized by mutual respect as well as refined courtesy. The atmosphere is very different from that of the hostility and suspicion which subsists between the Jews and the pagan authorities in III Maccabees. Perhaps the two works are intended to illustrate the proper attitude for the Jews to take, as recommended by two opposing groups.[15] In any case, there is sufficient similarity between the books, from this point of view, to suggest that the nature as well as the purpose of III Maccabees is analogous to that of *Aristeas.* Using the familiar and "important" names of Ptolemy Philadelphus and Demetrius of Phalerum, *Aristeas* presents an edifying but fanciful explanation of the origin of an important element in Egyptian Jewish life; III Maccabees' explanation of another element is equally edifying and also equally fanciful.

15. Sterling Tracy, "III Maccabees and Pseudo-Aristeas," *in Yale Classical Studies,* I (1928), 241-52, suggested that Aristeas was a counter-blast to the separatist tendencies apparently advocated in III Maccabees. Chronology seems to make this hypothesis improbable, but the two works do represent opposing schools of thought in the same community.

COMMUNICATION

RUTH FULTON BENEDICT
1887-1948

HORACE LELAND FRIESS

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AS UNIVERSITIES WERE OPENING THEIR DOORS THIS FALL, news came of the death in New York, on September 17th, of Dr. Ruth Fulton Benedict, Professor of Anthropology at Columbia. To the world of scholarship, and in the ranks of intellectual leadership, this was a loss as great as it was unexpected. Only ten days earlier Dr. Benedict had returned, apparently in good health, from a busy summer in France, Belgium, the Netherlands, Poland, and Czechoslovakia. The sudden end was due to a coronary thrombosis.

Ruth Benedict died at a high point of activity, distinction, and public service. A year ago she was elected President of the American Anthropological Association. Her studies of Japanese and other cultures for OWI during the war, and her writings on race relations, were recognized by several awards in 1946. Currently she was Director of Research in Contemporary Cultures, an extensive project in the analysis of European and other cultures, supported by the Medical Services Branch of the Naval Research Office (USN). In Czechoslovakia last summer she also conducted an intercultural seminar for UNESCO.

Dr. Benedict joined the editorial board of *The Review of Religion* in 1943. But she had taken a friendly interest and part in our enterprise from its very beginning. The course which she regularly gave at Columbia in "Primitive Religions" was an outstanding one. She was exceptionally qualified for work of rare excellence in this field. The imaginative side of religion, mythology, and folklore greatly appealed to her. She combined the scientific insistence of her teacher, Franz Boas, on exact research with an artist's sensitivity to concrete meanings and values. As a result, she avoided artificial and irrelevant generalization. But neither did she merely gather the straw and stubble of isolated facts. She achieved meaningful construction, because she presented her facts in the specific contexts or patterns of culture in

which she discerned their point. It was in keeping with this respect for relevant cultural contexts that she made certain recommendations to *The Review of Religion*. She advocated more use of material by native authors in cultures other than our own, even though the contributions might not conform to standards of western scholarship. The point which other peoples find in their religions too often escapes analysis conducted solely in the categories of our own scholars, she said.

This advice will not be easy for editors to follow, but it is too significant to be forgotten. Neither will we forget the scope, the lively variety, and the real wisdom of Ruth Benedict's own teaching. She was one of the sustainers who made a difference in our profession by the range and quality of her contribution. And her many devoted students and friends feel most deeply bereft by her sudden going, with so much still to impart. Somehow her winsome way calls up a line of nursery rhyme—"she shall make music wherever she goes"—for, indeed, she did that. May it suggest, even in a sad hour, something of the unalloyed joy and affection that overflows our thought of Ruth Benedict.

BOOK REVIEWS

The Religious Pilgrimage of Israel. By I. G. MATTHEWS. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1947. xii, 304 pp. $4.00.

This excellent survey of biblical religion is a work which may be recommended to all who wish a well-written and comprehensive account of Hebrew religion. Professor Matthews generally follows the moderate critical position with regard both to the Bible and to the various stages of religious development in Israel.

The author's wide reading is attested by the extensive bibliography in the appendix, as well as by the copious references in the footnotes. His balanced judgment and genuine striving for objectivity are everywhere evidenced in the presentation. Thus, unlike other studies, the history of Israel's religion is carried beyond Inter-testamental times to the establishment of Rabbinic or normative Judaism in the second century A.D. All in all, Professor Matthews has been successful in approaching his great theme with the rare yet essential combination of detachment and sympathy. These virtues are heightened by the author's warm and vivid style, which rises to true eloquence at many points, such as the moving description of the life of faith (p. 151), his excellent summary of the servant-songs in Deutero-Isaiah (pp. 175 ff.), the fine statement on the creative assimilation of foreign ideas by Judaism (p. 181), his recognition of the place of "The Song of Songs" within a vital and all-embracing religion (p. 208), and his exposition and critique of other-worldliness (p. 231).

The volume opens with an introductory chapter on "The Meaning of Religion." There are illuminating comments on the inseparable character of individual, tribe, and deity (p. 20), the ethicizing of custom (p. 22) and the elements of primitive religion (p. 35). Then follows a description of the semi-nomadic background of Israel and the Mosaic period. The author makes a judicious contrast between the resigned spirit of Egyptian morality and the activistic character of Hebrew prophecy (p. 30). Particularly telling is his recognition of the basic historicity of Moses and the Exodus, which are self-validating (pp. 43 f). He accepts (p. 49) the Kenite hypothesis for the origin of JHVH worship, which, popular as it is, has no real evidence in its favor. His balanced judgment is evident in the resolution of the difficulty of

Ex.6:3, when he notes that the name JHVH was familiar to some Israelites but new to others (p. 54). In presenting the theories about the Ark (pp. 63 ff.), which, he assumes, originally contained some sacred object, he seems to underestimate the aniconic character of Judaism. The following chapters deal with the religion of the Canaanites, the impact of the invaders and the results of their mutual interaction.

In a chapter entitled "The Religion of the Reactionaries," Professor Matthews treats of the role of Elijah and the other non-literary prophets. But Elijah, it seems to this reviewer, receives less than justice at his hands. Thus, the author overlooks the ethical passion behind Elijah's encounter with Ahab on Naboth's vineyard, which is surely in the tradition of Moses and Amos.

In general, many modern treatments of the subject fail to distinguish sufficiently between the Nazirites and the Rechabites on the one hand, and the Prophets on the other. All three groups were in agreement, of course, in their opposition to the mores and morals of the new rural-urban civilization which was replacing the older seminomadic stage in Israel, as everywhere else in the world. But while the Nazirites and the Rechabites sought a *mechanical retroversion to desert conditions and ideals,* an effort doomed to failure because it was reactionary, the Prophets demanded the *retention of some of the desert ideals within the framework of new conditions,* notably the sense of equality and mutual responsibility. On the other hand, the Prophets discarded other desert practices and ideals as irrelevant, such as the dwelling in tents and the abstention from wine, which bulked so large in the way of life of the Nazirites and the Rechabites.

Still other desert attitudes they helped to break down, notably the concept of the tribe as the unit and limit of morality. The Prophets and the biblical historians, who wrote in their spirit and under their influence, were the creators of Hebrew nationalism. For them there was one nation, and Jeroboam and his successors, in seceding, were "sinners, who had caused Israel to sin." If it be true, as is being increasingly maintained today, that there was no single state in the days of Saul, David, and Solomon, only a dual kingdom with a single ruler, that would emphasize the contribution of the biblical Prophets and historians to the evolution of the concept of one people from an aggregate of clans. Failure to recognize this fact has led to such unneces-

sary though widespread procedures as the excision of many or all references to Judah in Amos and Hosea and to Israel in Isaiah, Jeremiah, and Ezekiel.

The Prophets went even further in broadening the base of brotherhood beyond the clan. They did not stop with the nation, but included the entire human race. The dichotomy between "particularism" and "universalism" in the biblical text, which has led modern critics to delete considerable portions of the Prophetic Books as late and inferior interpolations, is indigenous not to the Prophets, but to their modern interpreters. Few and far between have been the scholars who have approached the subject with the objectivity of George Foot Moore, whose statement on nationality and universality as the two-fold aspect of Judaism is still worth reading and pondering *(Judaism,* I, 219 ff.). By and large, the conflict has been the invention of modern theologians, writing from the vantage point of Christianity, who have unconsciously sought to recreate the Prophets in their own image, in order that they might serve as fore-runners of the Christian dispensation, which surrendered the national element of Hebrew religion. The contrasts that are so frequently drawn between particularism and universalism, or ritualism and ethical nobility, or "the lovers of the Jewish law and the lovers of humanity" (p. 214), are largely imaginary, as is clear from a passage like Isa.56:1-8. Here the Prophet wholeheartedly welcomes and encourages the Gentile proselyte and declares the Temple "a house of prayer for all the nations," but sees no contradiction therein with Sabbath observances, the sacrificial system, and the hope of national restoration. The Prophets would have found themselves in thorough agreement with Santayana who declared, "a man must stand with his feet firmly planted in his own country, but his eyes must survey the world," except that they would have said, "but his heart must embrace the world." As for the validity of these ideas, it may well be doubted whether the unadulterated "universalism" exalted in our theological literature today (and nowhere else in the modern world!) is much more than a form of religious imperialism. Nor is it likely to advance human brotherhood half as effectively as the blending of national and universal loyalty exemplified by the Prophets.

Under the heading, "The Religion of the Laymen," Professor

Matthews treats of the earlier literary prophets from Amos through Micah. Deuteronomy is tellingly summarized as the "Religion of Co-operation," the achievement of a coalition of moderate priests and prophets. Excellent as these chapters are, a few points of divergence may perhaps be indicated. Dr. Matthews accepts (p. 121) the theory of a ritual decalogue (Ex.34:14-26, J; Ex.20.23-26; 23:10-19,E), but it remains only a guess, and a rather implausible one, emanating from Goethe.

For one reader at least there seems to be a little too much of the modern in the author's denial of all ecstasy in prophetic inspiration (p. 131), and in his insistence that "the word of God" was merely a stock phrase (p. 147). Surely Jeremiah's poignant outcry in 20:7-9 is more than purely formal. The parallels with lower levels of prophecy would tend to indicate that some of the prophets, notably Ezekiel, were subject to psychological states of exaltation. No doubt the trend among the great prophets lay in minimizing such activities. There is no proof of a bloody Deuteronomic revolution (p. 141).

The assumption of Duhm that only the verses in *Kinah-rhythm* are genuinely Jeremianic, which Matthews accepts (p. 145), is as arbitrary as the Hoelscher theory that only the passages in verse are the authentic work of Ezekiel. There is no genuine reason for assuming that a poet would use only one meter, or that a prophet, unlike M. Jourdain, could write only in verse. One of the most moving chapters in the book, "The Religion of Individualism," is devoted to Jeremiah and Ezekiel, and it reflects the author's great love for the one and profound comprehension of the other.

In a chapter called "The Religion of the Intellectuals," the author deals with Deutero-Isaiah, including the "Servant-songs," the book of Job and the Hymns of Wisdom in Proverbs (8:1-9:6), Ben Sira (24:1-34), and the Wisdom of Solomon (7:1-8:36). While these writings are concerned with the problem of suffering and the nature of Wisdom, it would seem to one reader at least, that they hardly constitute a unit either in background, approach, or conclusions. Not only must Wisdom as a whole be distinguished from Prophecy, granting points of contact and mutual influence, but the various strands within *Hokmah* must be recognized. The conventional Wisdom teacher and the unconventional seeker after truth are radically different in temper and attitude.

The chapter entitled "The Religion of the State-Church" discusses the Holiness Code, the Law Book in Ezekiel, and the Priestly Code. Here Dr. Matthews follows the conventional assumptions of the Graf-Wellhausen school regarding the late and artificial character of P as a *Rückbildung* from Second Temple days to the Mosaic Age. Though he admits the existence of ancient material in P, he does not reckon with the full impact of the revolution that has taken place with regard to the credibility of P as a result of recent research, buttressed in large part upon archeological and epigraphic discoveries throughout the ancient Near East. Like most Old Testament introductions, commentaries, and histories still accepted as standard today, Matthews continues to accept the postulate of rectilinear religious development in Israel as classically formulated by Wellhausen, which sees the primitive level in the Patriarchal and Mosaic Ages. The reason is not far to seek. Wellhausenism has been enthroned for half a century. Though the citadel has been punctured from countless directions, the walls still stand and will continue to do so until a new, all-embracing structure is reared to take its place. The larger works of Albright in America and the Hebrew *History of the Religion of Israel* by Ezekiel Kaufman, of which six volumes have thus far appeared in Palestine, represent important contributions to this fundamental task of revaluation, but they have not yet changed the climate of opinion in contemporary biblical scholarship. That will require more time, work and workers.

A few instances of this negative attitude toward P may be analyzed. To hold that the Holiness Code (Lev.17-26) and the Priestly Code lack the "intellectual and moral warmth" of the Prophets (p. 183), and that in P evil or sin is limited to "ritual uncleanness" (p. 192), is a completely untenable position. P is a technical handbook for priests, part of a larger whole; one does not expect the lofty idealism of the Declaration of Independence in the volume of U. S. Postal Regulations. As a matter of fact, however, H contains not only the Golden Rule (Lev. 19:18) but the clear call to the fair treatment of the stranger (Lev. 19:33 f.), which two millenia of the Judeo-Christian tradition have not yet translated into reality.

The social legislation of the sabbatical and jubilee year, rooted in a profound religious faith (Lev.25), far from being surpassed elsewhere, is without a peer in the Old Testament or outside of it, precisely because of its blending of idealism and realism. What is more, even P

does not ignore purely ethical sins (Lev.5:1,4,20 ff.). Elsewhere the reviewer has sought to prove that the Hebrew word *ēdāh* in P does not mean "congregation" or "church," but the "assembly" or "commonalty," and that its use in P, far from being a late invention, is in harmony with the democratic structure of primitive societies, both Semitic and Indo-European, for which we have increasing evidence from the Near East in particular. All in all, the Priestly Code has been sinned against grievously by modern criticism, on the score of date, credibility, and content, and restitution is long overdue.

"The Religion of Mankind" deals with the universalistic writings like Ruth, Jonah, Ecclesiastes, and parts of our present book of Isaiah. This reviewer was delighted to see Matthews' high appreciation of the lofty idealism in Isa.19:24-25 (p. 214). It may be added that the widespread view that "Egypt" and "Assyria" in this passage refer to the *Jews* in Egypt and in Syria, is ruled out by the reference to "Israel" as the third member of the "triad." The verse can only refer to three nations. On the other hand, it is far-fetched to take "Assyria" as referring to Seleucid Syria. There is, in short, no substantial reason, 19:18 notwithstanding, for denying the Isaianic character of this prophecy, which attains to a plane of vision worthy of the greatest of the prophets. This passage, incidentally, demonstrates that the prophets looked forward to the moralization and not to the elimination of national loyalties in the End-Time. A fuller discussion of these "Egyptian oracles" in Isaiah 19 must be reserved for another occasion.

Professor Matthews subscribes to the idea of Greek influence in Ecclesiastes as well as in Proverbs. Actually, however, the biblical sage's point of view represents a consistent, if extreme, development of tendencies indigenous to Hebrew and Oriental Wisdom, as Barton, Fichtner, MacDonald, Herzberg, and others have demonstrated. At most, Ecclesiastes may have been familiar with a few catchwords of Greek philosophy; he cannot be regarded as a student of any of the Greek schools of thought.

Apocalyptic thought is treated under the heading "The Religion of Supernaturalism." Such biblical writings as Isaiah 13,14,24,25,26 and 27 and the books of Zephaniah, Joel, and Daniel are sympathetically treated, but the author quite rightly does not yield to tendencies derived from the current "crisis-theology," which seeks to find present-day relevance in apocalyptic literature. What is valuable

in it, its unyielding faith in the triumph of righteousness, is expressed far more effectively in the Prophets. On the other hand, what has been added, the esoteric symbolism, the secret computations, and the stress upon a super-human cataclysm, represents a retrogression from biblical prophecy. All in all, Apocalyptic represents the extension and degeneration of Prophecy.

The last chapter, "The Religion of Judaism," represents a conscientious and fair-minded effort to comprehend the Judaism of the Second Commonwealth and beyond, as taught and practiced in Palestine and the Diaspora. Professor Matthews is to be commended for his recognition of the continuity of biblical and post-biblical religion, even if it is not as complete as might be desired by a scholar at home both in Rabbinic and biblical literature.

"Tabbai Judah" (p. 249) should be Rabbi Judah ben Tabbai (cf. Abot 1:8) and the honorific title of Johanan ben Zakkai is "Rabban" not "Rabbi" (p. 263). The author's favorable estimate of Roman rule in Palestine (p. 253) is not shared by most historians. He regards the scribes as "men of priestly training and mentality" (p. 237). Actually the scribes and the sages represented a democratic leadership, which at first arose in the synagogue to supplement the aristocratic leadership of the Temple priesthood, and ultimately supplanted it. Finally, to leap the centuries, Zionism is not adequately described as "independent of religion" (p. 267). The religious foundations of Zionism are fundamental at countless points.

It is obvious that there is room for difference of opinion on many of the issues raised here, which is perfectly natural in a book of such scope. These divergences are a tribute to the high merit of this ripe work, in which learning and enthusiasm are blended so beautifully. In presenting us with this moving account of the religious pilgrimage of Israel, Professor Matthews has given us a brief yet comprehensive survey of perhaps the most significant religion man has yet evolved, the rock from which the three most vital faiths of the modern world have been hewn. But he has done more. He has helped to indicate the direction which mankind must follow, if it is to realize the ideals of Israel's seers, lawgivers, and saints and attain to their vision of what life was meant to be.

Robert Gordis

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The Modern Message of the Minor Prophets. By Raymond Calkins. New York and London, Harper and Brothers, 1947. ix, 205 pp. $3.00.

Prophetic Religion. By J. Philip Hyatt. Nashville: Abingdon-Cokesbury Press, 1947. 188 pp. $1.75.

The first of these two useful volumes is of an expository nature and reveals precise acquaintance with the results of scholarship. Dr. Calkins treats the twelve books of the "minor" prophets in their chronological order, from Amos to Jonah. After surveying briefly the composition, authorship, date, literary and historical character of each prophetic writing, the author proceeds to develop in clear and entertaining style its religious thought and significance for modern Christians. The biblical text is quoted from the King James Version, and an appendix offers a succinct exegesis of difficult passages. No reader will fail to mark the sympathetic understanding which impregnates these pages, with the exception of the chapter on Amos. While Dr. Calkins writes that the prophet's passion for righteousness "was not tempered by love, sympathy, pity" (p. 24; see also p. 22), some will feel that the expositor's severity is not justified by exhaustive investigation of the text.

In a small but enlightening book, Professor Hyatt analyzes the religion of seven Old Testament prophets (Amos, Hosea, Isaiah, Micah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Second Isaiah) and compares it, chapter by chapter, to that of Jesus. Instead of dealing separately with each prophetic figure in unrelated units, as the prevailing custom seems to be, the author studies all of the seven men and Jesus in each chapter, taking up in turn their call, their criticism of life, and their ideas of history, cultus, fatherland, God, sin, and salvation. While this treatment may have a certain disadvantage for the completely untutored reader, since it does not place each prophet in his historical milieu and does not readily display the organic relationship which binds his life to his message, such a method of inquiry is highly effective in bringing out the unity of the prophetic religion without underestimating the diversity of terminology and attitude. It also stresses the prophetic character of the gospel without denying the qualitative difference which separates Jesus from his historical predecessors.

One may only regret that the scope of the volume did not allow Professor Hyatt to include all of the pre-Exilic prophets. Habakkuk

especially, for his acute perception of relative evil in history, his supra-philosophical use of suspense in judgment, and the pre-Job, theological magnitude of his psalm, deserves examination. The complexity of the literary and historical problems associated with this little book does not entirely justify the omission. Even Nahum might require a dismissal more delicately expressed than the blunt statement, "[He] is not a true prophet, but a poet. In some respects, he was a false prophet. The spirit of hatred of a foreign nation pervading his poetry is alien to the true prophet (p. 30)." Nahum is not to be confused with the chauvinist adversaries of Jeremiah, for he believed in a righteous deity defending the rights of the oppressed.

Of course, a number of the interpretations suggested will not meet with the approval of all scholars, but it would be unfair to single them out, for they are of a controversial nature, and the author could not waste precious space in a book of limited size for supporting them adequately. He consciously avoids a discussion of the prophets' psychology, for "our sources are too meager to provide sound basis for such a study" (p. 8). He maintains that the visions were based upon the perception of natural events, but that the prophets' "experiences were governed by God" (p. 46). He believes that Hosea's calling followed rather than preceded his marriage to an apparently virtuous woman, and he admits the authenticity of Isaiah's pessimistic commission, including the first part of 6:13. He recognizes that Ezekiel's inaugural vision has been editorially expanded (pp. 31 ff.). He insists that, while the prophets were primarily teaching God's will to their contemporaries, prediction was an element of their mission more important than modern scholars are generally willing to concede (p. 50). He does not favor the Isaianic authorship of the Messianic passages or of those which announce the inviolability of Zion. On the other hand, he stresses that the prophecy of the new covenant is the "keystone" of Jeremiah's message. The prophets were neither champions of a class nor social reformers in detail, but their criticism of public life has preserved its significance (pp. 72 ff.), especially when it is read in juxtaposition with their eschatological views (pp. 113 ff.). Their opposition to the whole sacrificial and ritual system is presented as absolute, while that of Jesus is believed to have been qualified (p. 132). Their love of country did not blind them, but their patriotism was "international and spiritually founded" (p. 148). They inherited their

theology from the Yahwism of the fathers, and not only Second Isaiah, but all of them, were true monotheists, although not in a speculative way, because they believed in the all-sufficiency of Yahweh as well as in the absolute character of his demands upon men.

The author's translations of numerous lines and strophes are skilfully and elegantly done, and comments upon them reveal wide knowledge and reverent appreciation. Thus, this book should constitute felicitous reading not only for general students but also for biblical exegetes.

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Revelation in Jewish Wisdom Literature. By J. Coert Rylaarsdam. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1946. xii, 128 pp. $3.00.

Too many books on the Bible are being written by distinguished philologists, literary critics, and historians who are theologically unschooled or inhibited. Since the Bible lies at the root of Christianity, its relevance for our day may not be ignored, even under the pretext of reaching scientific objectivity. Professor Rylaarsdam studies Hebrew Wisdom literature not only as an historian but also as a Christian theologian, and for his stimulating monograph he deserves to be commended.[1]

In the last decades, the Wisdom Literature has not received due attention. To be sure, one easily understands the reasons for which the prophets exercise, in our time, a greater attraction than the wise. Their passion for social justice as well as their sense of urgency while civilizations were tumbling cannot fail to elicit a response from contemporary minds. By comparison, the prudential and bourgeois morality of the wise seems, at first glance, to deserve little more than an academic interest, but it would be wrong to dismiss their books merely on account of their nearsighted ethics. The fact is that the Hebrew sages were theologians as well as moralists. They grasped the significance of the problem of religious authority and confronted the vexing and perennially important question of theological epistemology. They

1. There are a number of cacographic instances in the Hebrew, Greek, Latin, German, and French quotations, as well as in the foreign titles and names of the bibliography.

asked implicitly whether man discovers ultimate reality by the use of his natural capacities or by virtue of a divine act of grace. They personified the idea of wisdom, and they later perceived a connection between wisdom and spirit. Indeed, the author confides in his preface that he undertook his present study when he discovered in the New Testament that wisdom and spirit were intimately related, and his book constitutes, in a sense, a partial introduction to the Christian problem of reason and revelation.

Professor Rylaarsdam rightly emphasizes the debt Israel owed in the gnomic field, as in others, to the culture of the ancient Near East in general. Past is the time when scholars could study the Bible as if it were the earliest literary monument of mankind. Archeologists have unearthed, and linguists have translated, scores of Akkadian, Egyptian, and Phoenician documents, among others, which directly or indirectly have influenced the Hebrew Wisdom Books. For instance, the section of Prov. 22:17—23:10 was adapted from the Teachings of the Egyptian Amen-em-ope, and this fact should not be surprising when it is noted that the earlier wise of Israel and Judah probably were court officials who maintained professional contacts with foreign diplomats. Although the chapter entitled, "The Context of Hebrew Wisdom," offers a good summary of the sapiential literatures of Egypt and Mesopotamia, other important texts might have been mentioned, especially the Acrostic Dialogue on Theodicy, reconstituted and translated by Ebeling, Dhorme, and Landersberger. Likewise, the informed reader would have welcomed a discussion of Professor Pfeiffer's contributions to the study of Edomitic wisdom (*Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*, 1926, pp. 13 ff.) or of the foreign influences in general (*Ibid.*, 1934, pp. 93 ff.). Similarly, Professor Albright's suggestions concerning Ugaritic influences upon the figure of personified wisdom in Prov. 8-9 (*From the Stone Age to Christianity*, 1941, pp. 283 f.) should have received careful investigation.

It is a tribute to the vigor of the Yahwistic faith that biblical sages absorbed the practical philosophy of foreigners and made it a part of their specifically Hebraic views of God and man. It is true, of course, that they ignored "particularistic national religious concepts" such as "election, the day of Yahweh, the covenant and the law, the Messiah, the priesthood and the cultus, prophets and prophecy" (p. 20), but

this observation does not necessarily lead to the conclusion that "the Hebrew Wisdom Movement had not yet been integrated into the national religion" *(Ibid.)*. An exegetical study of the canonical books of Proverbs and Job reveals a much closer dependence upon the language and ideas of the Prophetic and Deuteronomic literatures than the author briefly indicates (pp. 23 f.); critical reference might have been made on this subject to the pertinent studies of A. Robert, "Les attaches littéraires bibliques de Prov. I-IX" *(Revue Biblique,* 43 [1934], 42 ff.; 172 ff.; 374 ff.; 44 [1935], 344 ff.; 502 ff.) and "Le Yahvisme de Prov. X,1—XXII,16; XXV—XXIX" (*Mémorial Lagrange,* 1940, pp. 163 ff.). The process of "The Naturalization of Wisdom" seems to have been at once more ancient and more complete than it is often suggested.

The subsequent chapters on "The Hope of Wisdom" and "The Transcendence of Wisdom" establish a distinction between optimistic and pessimistic trends among the Hebrew gnomic writers, and such a distinction is substantially correct, provided it is not unduly stressed. To be sure, the teachers of Prov. 1-29 were "world-affirming," whereas Agur, Job, and Qoheleth displayed a tendency to despair and doubted the rational order of creation, but the antithesis is not as abrupt as it may appear on the surface. The "optimistic" class did not always assume that "man can discover the nature of what determines his destiny to such an extent that he can obtain what he deems essential to his happiness" (p. 47). As the author himself notes (p. 71), the older sections of Proverbs constantly emphasized that the fear of Yahweh is the beginning of wisdom. One might add that, far from being "a 'revolt' of a free-thinking, empirically minded element of 'scientists' against the tribalistic and irrational ideas of religion characteristic of pre-Exilic Hebrews" (p. ix), Old Testament sapiential literature was characterized by a profound faith in an omniscient, omnipotent, and unsearchable deity (see A. Drubbel, "Le conflit entre la sagesse profane et la sagesse religieuse," *Biblica,* 17 [1936], 45 ff.; 407 ff.). Its concept of *binah* (understanding) is not related to the modern notion of human reason or common sense but depends upon the knowledge of Yahweh. Furthermore, all men did not equally discover wisdom. "Men were all God's creatures; but they differed profoundly. . . . The sages apparently felt that there were predestined elements that determined these

groups (p. 63)." This remark might offer an indirect explanation for the fact that the wise did not contemplate the possibility of conversion and ignored almost completely the attribute of divine mercy. It also qualifies considerably their "independence of spirit," "self-reliance," humanism (pp. 26-27), and insistence upon "human freedom" (p. 65).

A reverent agnosticism based upon theological acuteness appears in Proverbs as well as in Job. When the wise admit that "man's movements are controlled by Yahweh: how can man understand his way?" (Prov. 20:24), perhaps a somewhat stronger comment is required than, "The God who was to be trusted could not wholly be understood" (p. 60). On the other hand, the poet of Job grasped the character of prophetic religion much more deeply than the "orthodox" teachers, and his tragic view of human existence expressed itself in a language akin to that of the prophets. Job cursed the day of his birth in poetic strains borrowed from Jeremiah, and his discovery of theological sinfulness, after repeated protests of ethical innocence, is not unrelated to the hamartiological stringency of an Isaiah or of the prophetically inspired psalmists. Job's pessimism and the prophets' despair in man's ability to save himself are the prerequisites of their apprehension of a God who by pure grace wills human salvation.

The last chapter, "Wisdom and The Spirit," traces the relation of the two notions in the Old Testament (see the article of P. van Imschoot, "Sagesse et Esprit dans l'Ancien Testament," *Revue Biblique*, 47 [1938], 23 ff.) and deals with the development of the sapiential movement in the later Jewish period, when Wisdom became equated not only with the Law but also with the Spirit, and all three were considered as special gifts of God to men, enabling them to learn divine purposes. Indeed, divine Wisdom sometimes took the place of the divine Spirit, and to her were ascribed not only the creation of the world but also the deliverance of Israel from Egypt, the inspiration of kings and prophets, and the power of the Messiah. The synergism revealed by the inter-testamental literature announced the legalistic moralism of rabbinical theology, while the pneumatic soteriology of the New Testament represented a rediscovery of the prophets' and of the canonical wiseman's anthropological assumptions.

Professor Rylaarsdam concludes by indicating succinctly the parallel which unites Hebrew and Christian notions of divine revelation in

history. It is to be hoped that he will soon bring his valuable study to completion by offering, in the light of this Old Testament preface, a detailed analysis of the concepts of Wisdom and Spirit in the New Testament.

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Les Vies de Jésus et le Jésus de l'histoire. By JEAN G. H. HOFFMANN. (Acta Seminarii Neotestamentici Upsalensis XVII.) Uppsala: Almquist & Wiksells Boktryckeri A-B, 1947. vi, 232 pp. 8 kr.

This is a very valuable book and one which will make a permanent contribution to New Testament scholarship. It is entirely fair to compare it with Schweitzer's *Von Reimarus zu Wrede,* for Hoffmann has surveyed and reported the progress and development of French biblical scholarship with the same systematic thoroughness as did Schweitzer the German. It will prove of particular importance to American scholars who are rather better informed with regard to the contributions of their German colleagues than of their French.

The author is distinctly more than a mere reporter; like Schweitzer, he has not hesitated to appraise these writers, and at times his hand is heavy and his tone severe. But quite regardless of his own point of view which is always clearly, but not obtrusively, to be discerned, he has sought to be scrupulously fair—and for the most part has succeeded. Through constant and judicious—never wearisome—quotation from the authors' own words he has succeeded admirably in enabling them to present their essential contributions. Thus the reader is enabled to form his own conclusions as to their points of strength and weakness quite apart from Hoffmann's own feelings on the subject. In the final chapter, the longest in the book, after having surveyed in essentially chronological order the successive waves of thought—the topics are German theology to the time of Renan; Prehistory: Gospel criticism in France before Renan; Renan's *Life of Jesus;* Orthodox *Lives of Jesus* (Pressensé, Bovon, Westphal); Liberal *Lives of Jesus* (Stapfer, Réville, Sabatier, Régla); Critical Remarks on the orthodox and liberal *Lives of Jesus;* Jesus and his historic mission according to Henri Monnier; From Alfred Loisy to Charles Guignebert; Maurice

Goguel and the Life of Jesus; Radical and Psychoanalytical Critics—he attempts, in what is both a summary and appraisal, to answer his initial question: To what extent have the non-Catholic Lives of Jesus which have been written in French advanced our real knowledge of Jesus? In the necessarily brief compass of this review it is impossible to treat in any detail his admirable survey. It must suffice to say that almost every page of my copy has been underscored and annotated and that, in addition, I have taken a far larger grist of notes while reading and rereading than is my usual habit. I gratefully express my appreciation of this valuable contribution to New Testament scholarship.

Although attempting to be—and generally succeeding in being—scrupulously fair to the authors he surveys, Hoffmann's own views and theological slant very naturally tend to influence him in his likes and dislikes. Loisy and Guignebert, for example, receive a far cooler and less sympathetic treatment than do Monnier and Goguel, and largely, I am sure, because of what seems to Hoffmann their essentially negative, almost disinterested, results. It is not that Hoffmann is a conservative when it comes to biblical criticism. He is far from that. He is frank to say that a *Life of Jesus* is an utter impossibility; we simply do not have the necessary material. And in the attitude of orthodoxy, with its essential disregard of the incarnation, we detect actually a resurrection of docetism. Surely here is no fundamentalist. None the less, he is convinced that while the gospels are in no sense sources of knowledge of the life of the historical Jesus—the early Christian had no interest in history as such—they are sources, and unimpeachable ones, for a real knowledge of him.

Hoffmann is suspicious of source analysis which pretends to discover strata having different values as sources of knowledge of the real Jesus. Actually the historical Jesus, the real Jesus, is reflected not in an Urmarkus or in the Logia but in the whole of the gospel tradition—not for details, to be sure, but for a real recognition of his person, nature, and teaching. We do not know *when* he did this or that or even *that* he did this or that; but we do know his thought, his aim, his purpose, and his authority. And to overlook this or to minimize these assured results, as liberal criticism is too wont to do, is far-reaching folly. The indifference of the world to the gospel is due to the fact that the church has substituted a soft and emasculated morality for the "scan-

dal" of the clearly revealed preaching of the gospel; the studied uncertainty of critics has led to the excesses of the non-historical school and the madhouse doctors. Thus he is very severe on detached criticism as a whole, especially on the so-called "Liberal Jesus" school with its individualism run riot, its evacuation from Jesus of all that made him what he was, and its fancied discovery in him of precisely what it values in itself—the latter, as he not improperly remarks, being perilously close to self-worship.

Criticism has been wrong in appraising the gospels as it would profane writings. So to regard them is to blind ourselves to their real nature. We may gain certain valuable insights as to facts of history by such a course, but the gospels are manifestly not primarily history. Rather they are revelation, the result of the co-operation of a God who very definitely intervened in history in the incarnation of Jesus and the imperfection of human understanding and memory. Form criticism, while performing many valuable functions, despite its ridiculous and pompous jargon, is hopelessly wrong in ascribing to the fancied creative ability of the apostolic age what can only be seen as due to the revelation of God himself through his Son and Messiah.

Naturally this point of view, which is becoming increasingly common in America, though stemming from the other side of the Atlantic, and with which I am in complete disagreement, influences his appraisal of the authors he surveys. The definitely unsympathetic attitude to Guignebert and his master, Loisy, to which I have already alluded, is largely due to the fact that both fail to find in the gospels and the resultant Christianity much of the real contribution of Jesus or, for that matter, much of importance, and which led the one to remark, "The Christian religion is not the religion which filled the being of Jesus . . . he neither foresaw it nor willed it," or the other, "Jesus announced the coming of the kingdom of God; instead it was the church which came." To Hoffmann they seem coldly critical, handling with almost blasphemous unconcern what are, after all, words of life.

On the other hand, though Goguel's critical knife cuts very deep, the fact that he himself is warmly religious, that he sees positive values in what he is working with, that he finds the *content* of the Gospel of Mark definitely primitive (although its *form* may be later than A.D. 70),

coupled with his valiant descent into the arena to discomfit those who had sought to reduce Jesus to an astral myth or the product of Christian speculation—all this leads Hoffmann to a much kindlier and appreciative appraisal.

But while it is inevitable that Hoffmann's own point of view colors his appraisals, and equally inevitable that a reviewer will tend to center upon them, this is by far the least part of the contribution of the book. Nowhere do I know so candid and essentially honest a survey of the very considerable contribution which French biblical scholarship has made. His chapter on Renan is notable. Perhaps his characterization of Schweitzer's picture of a book which has gone through 421 editions as "a deplorable caricature" is a bit severe—I had never thought it conspicuously unfair—none the less Hoffmann has presented a very necessary correction. Too long Renan has been easily dismissed as "Frenchy," as playing with mouth-filling phrases, dripping with an insincere and superficial sentimentality. Hoffmann rightly insists that the constant stressing of the literary beauty of this book has obscured the recognition of its real character. It is, and should be so regarded, a definitely scientific and scholarly production which marked the beginning of a century of productivity in France.

So it would be easy to continue. One feels as one reads—at least I did—that the author has done something far different from the usual doctoral thesis. Quite regardless of his own theological bias—be it good, bad, or indifferent—he has been able not only to discern the larger aspects of the development of thought through the years, but to present it and those who were responsible for it in a brilliant and essentially accurate way.

Today it is quite the fashion for American publishers to bring out so-called American editions of English and Continental volumes, many of which have extraordinarily little contribution to make—at least on this side of the Atlantic. In contradistinction to that stuff which clutters our review columns and extracts our dollars, a translation into English of this volume would likely prove of lasting value. It will be interesting to see if any publisher will undertake it.

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Jésus transfiguré: L'arrière-plan du récit evangelique de la transfiguration de Notre-Seigneur. By HARALD RIESENFELD. Lund: Hakan Ohlssons Boktryckeri, and Copenhagen: Ejnar Munksgaard, 1947. xvi, 370 pp. and 2 plates.

In a recently pubished paper, completed two or three years ago, the reviewer expressed the opinion, which a good many other American scholars seem to share, that this country must become the center of philological and theological study because of the material and spiritual impoverishment of Europe. Since then doubts have arisen in his mind whether the Scandinavian countries, the Netherlands, and other western European states have not advanced so far, in biblical scholarship at least, during the past decade, that our own more fortunate country may find it very difficult to overtake them. Such doubts arise when one reflects on the number of admirable works in biblical theology that have come out of Sweden alone in the past few years, such as Johansson's *Parakletoi,* Edsman's *The Body and Eternal Life,* and no Riesenfeld's *Jésus transfiguré.* The last named work is Nr. XVI in the *Acta Seminarii Neotestamentici Upsaliensis,* edited by Anton Fridrichsen, which contains such important books as Arvedson's *Das Mysterium Christi* and Edsman's *Le Baptême de Feu.*

Like his colleagues at Uppsala, Riesenfeld employs all the resources of philology and archeology, as well as theology, in the enlarged field of ancient Near Eastern religions and of rabbinic literature to illustrate the themes of Old and New Testament teaching. Not the least gratifying feature of his scholarship is the use of the most recent studies published in this country, since it is only comparatively recently that European scholars have paid us the compliment of consulting our scholarly publications.

The following synopsis, though fairly long for a review, is a reduction to the barest skeleton of the wealth of material to be found in this monograph on the Transfiguration (Matt. 7:1-8: Mark 9:2-8; Luke 9:28-36).

Introduction: Recent studies of the Transfiguration by Blinzler, Höller, Dabrowski, Voste and Boobyer leave important problems unsolved, especially that of the theological meaning of the pericope. Not only is there a temporal connection between the episode of the Transfiguration and the festival of Tabernacles but there is also an inner connection of religious and cultic motifs.

Chapter I: The Cultic Scheme and its Disintegration. One of the principal elements of ancient Israelite cult was the annual enthronement of YHWH and, at the same time, of the king. This ensemble of rites was, in course of time, associated with a number of religious ideas, some of which became detached from the cult or became "democratized." For example, there was a transfer of royal functions and sacramental privileges to the clergy, and the act of initiation, in ancient religions may be considered a popularized form of the royal enthronement. Together with the "democratization" of these rites there came about a spiritualization of Israelite religion in Judaism. New meanings were given to myths, which thus became relatively independent of the early cultic acts. Furthermore, many of them acquired eschatological form.

Chapter II: The Festivals of Autumn—the New Year, the Day of Atonement, the festival of Tabernacles. The festival of the New Year, even after the disappearance of the kingship, preserved the idea of the king and his kingdom as an essential motif, though it was spiritualized and assimilated to the kingship of YHWH, as is indicated by the synagogue liturgy for the New Year and the Day of Atonement. Some of the ceremonies of the festival of Tabernacles preserve ancient kingly rites, e.g., the high priest's reading of the Torah in the temple.

Chapter III: Cult and Eschatology. The festival of Simhath Torah, following Tabernacles, expresses the feeling of eschatological rejoicing. There is also a connection between the prayers for rain at Tabernacles and the resurrection. Some of the eschatological associations of the autumnal festivals, especially Tabernacles, are indicated by paintings in the Jewish catacombs of the Villa Torlonia, at Rome, and by several panels in the Dura synagogue, as shown by Grabar. This interpretation is confirmed by rabbinic passages, e.g., the Targum on Numbers 21:16-18. In spite of the spiritualization of the cult, there remained a connection between religious ideas and older rites, as in the motifs of the trumpet announcing the resurrection and in the Messianic repast.

Chapter IV: the Messiah. In spite of omission of the Messiah in the Mishnah and some early Haggadic sources, he was a central feature of Jewish eschatology. Those scholars are wrong who distinguish sharply between the kingdom of God and the kingdom of the Messiah. The two kingdoms alternate in many texts, including the Psalms of Solo-

mon and the Testaments of the XII Patriarchs. The distinction between the Days of the Messiah and the World to Come *('olam habba')* is the result of later dogmatic elaboration. They are two aspects of a single eschatology, though they sometimes appear as successive phases in apocalyptic and early rabbinic literature. The various aspects of the Messianic personality may represent merely local or temporal varieties of an originally single Messiah. In spite of Babylonian and Iranian influences on early Judaism, the essential Messianic concept was a development of earlier Israelite beliefs. The unifying element in the variations on the Messianic theme is the old idea of the enthronement and cultic function of the king.

Chapter V: The Different Functions of the Messiah. There are at least eight attributes given to the Messiah in Judaism. (1) He was a descendent of David or of the tribe of Judah. (2) Like the ancient king he was a "son of God." There is no need to assume Hellenistic influence in this concept. (3) The "democratization" of the son-concept and its application to the collective Israel imply Messianic connotations. (4) After the exile the high priest inherited some of the political and ritual functions of the king (as Morgenstern and others have shown). These functions were united in a Messianic pattern; cf. e.g., Deutero-Isaiah on the Ebed YHWH as king, priest and prophet, and also Testament of Levi xiii. (5) In spite of shifting emphasis, the kingly function of the Messiah remained in the foreground. (6) Though the anointing of the Messiah is not mentioned in the Talmud, it appears in the Testament of Levi 8:4 and in Justin, Dial.8.49. (7) The title of "the just" is a link between the ancient king (associated with the sun-god) and the Messiah. (8) The Messiah was an instrument of YHWH, which explains why certain activities of the Kingdom and the World to Come were attributed to YHWH.

Chapter VI: The Suffering Messiah. The concept of the Suffering Messiah was associated with the sacrifice of Isaac, as in the liturgy of the festivals of Tishri. One must suppose that also in the early days of the royal cult the motif of suffering was present.

Chapter VII: "Glory" *(Kabod, doxa).* "Glory" is connected with radiance and light. At the New Year festival the rays of the rising sun falling upon the sanctuary in Jerusalem symbolized the glory of YHWH (as Morgenstern and others have shown), as also the glory of

the officiating king, later, the high priest. These mythical elements were gradually spiritualized, so that the glory of YHWH was thought to be manifested in the Messiah, and were "democratized," so that pious Israelites were thought to be glorified when resurrected. These motifs of glorification were stressed in the festivals of Tishri.

Chapter VIII: The Sacred Robe. There is reason to suppose that there was a certain continuity between the robe of the ancient Israelite king and that of the high priest, also reflected in the concept of the glorious robe of YHWH, as in Ps. 104:1-2. The glory *(kabod)* of the divine, royal and high priestly robes are triple aspects of the same primitive myth. The wearing of the sacred robe at the New Year festival gave rise to the notion of YHWH's glorious robe, as in Dan. 7:9, Enoch 71:10, and in rabbinic literature. Thus the sacred robe acquires eschatological and Messianic significance.

Chapter IX: The Divine Cloud. The divine cloud, which appears in the story of the dedication of Solomon's temple, the theophany of Sinai and similar O. T. passages, is ancestral to the early Jewish concept of the glory of YHWH and the Shekinah and of the coming of the Messiah, as in Dan. 7:13, IV Esdras 13:3. But it is necessary to distinguish between the cloud that carries the Messiah and the divine cloud that covers him and other chosen individuals. The two types are "democratized" in eschatology. God will spread the cloud over Israel in the world to come, and the righteous will be transported by a cloud to the very throne of Glory, or in Paradise will be clothed in clouds of glory. The cloud also appears in the story of Isaac's sacrifice on Mount Moriah, according to rabbinic legend, and this story, in turn, has been shown to form part of the liturgy of the festivals of Tishri. The cloud is further associated with the idea of the divine "shadow" or "protection" (as shown by Gierlich and Allgeier). The primitive meaning of the root *s-k-k,* "to give shade and protection," is preserved in the word *sukkah,* "tabernacle" *(skēnē).* Here again we find continuity from the ancient royal cult to Messianic speculation.

Chapter X: The Tabernacle (this is the longest chapter in the book, running to 60 pages). The tabernacle *(sukkah)* was primitively not only an agricultural feature of the autumnal festival, but was also connected with the idea of a *hieros gamos,* as was the Mesopotamian *gigunu* or chamber of the divine marriage. There is also a close paral-

lelism between the *sukkah* and the *ḥuppah* or marriage-chamber. Both the New Year festival and the marriage-ceremony retain features of the ancient rite of enthronement, which are reflected in some of the prophetic passages of the O. T., especially those which have an eschatological coloring, and in apocalyptic literature (cf. the *skēnē* in Revelation 13:6). Thus the *sukkah* and the *ḥuppah* both acquired Messianic connotations in Palestinian Judaism.

Chapter XI: "Repose" *(menuḥah, anapausis).* Connected with the idea of the Messianic tabernacle is the more abstract idea of "repose." This motif is stressed in the ritual of the autumnal festivals as well as in the marriage-ceremony. Both have Messianic connotations.

Chapter XII: The Mountain. A mountain is prominent not only in O. T. theophanies but also in Messianic speculation, e.g., in the Testament of Levi 2:5 and IV Esdras 13:6.

Chapter XIII: The Enthronement of the Messiah. Many sources confirm Mowinckel's theory that the primitive ritual of enthronement was gradually transformed into an eschatological one. This is vaguely indicated in the O. T. but emerges clearly in apocryphal and rabbinic literature. It is quite natural that the traditional motif of the enthronement should have become "democratized" so that in eschatological literature the redeemed Israelites, collectively and individually, were glorified. A further illustration is found in the Isaac panel of the paintings in the Dura synagogue, as explained by Grabar; this, in turn, can be connected with the festival of Tabernacles, as shown above.

Chapter XIV: Conclusions (to Part I).

Among the results of our researches we should wish to stress particularly that the motifs here studied preserved, even after their spiritualization and their transposition to an eschatological level, a fairly close connection with the Jewish festivals of autumn, and particularly with that of Tabernacles. They also appear with great clarity in the ideas relating to the coming of the Messiah, ideas of which they continue to underline the origins and to illustrate the continuity. Finally, we have been able to demonstrate that the ensemble of Messianic hopes was attached in a significant manner to the festivals of the month of Tishri.

Part II:

Chapter XV: The Motifs of the Transfiguration. The various motifs reviewed in the first part also appear in the episode of the Transfigura-

tion, namely the mountain, the glory, the cloud, etc. We also find here evidence of the "democratization" and spiritualization of primitive traits of the rite of enthronement. Moreover, there is a connection between the concept of the suffering Messiah and the Transfiguration, as Arvedson has pointed out.

Chapter XVI: The Enthronement of Christ and the Festival of Tabernacles. The Transfiguration, to the extent that it is composed of these different motifs, "contains an application of certain symbols of the Messianic enthronement to the person of Jesus." Furthermore, "the Passion of Christ is considered as a phase of a sort of spiritualized ritual decomposable into two phases, of humiliation and of elevation to heavenly dignity, which presents a clear analogy to the ancient Israelite rite of enthronement, in which these two opposed themes were applied to the person of the king." The present analysis seems to confirm the theory advanced by Lohmeyer and Lightfoot that certain motifs of the Transfiguration are to be connected with Galilaean eschatology, and also to show that it is connected with the festival of Tabernacles, as it was celebrated outside of Jerusalem.

Chapter XVII: The Form of the Narrative in the Synoptic Gospels. The stress on the disciples' fear and lack of faith is one clue to the Messianism and mystery-symbolism of the Transfiguration, and points to the presence of elements of the Suffering Messiah motif. There are psychological rather than theological elements in the Gospels of Mark and Luke. What in Mark is a Messianic mystery becomes in Luke a series of events in which heavenly beings and the disciples take a significant part.

Chapter XVIII: The Transfiguration and Eschatology. Both the older Israelite conceptions of the Messiah and the doctrine of the Church are indispensable sources for the episode of the Transfiguration. In contrast to the findings of Boobyer, one may say that certain motifs were introduced into the doctrines of the Church on the World to Come "because they received a Christian justification, so to say, through the Transfiguration." The process of "democratization" of Messianic glory, which began in Judaism, was taken up by Christianity in a derived form. Thus the motifs of the Transfiguration place the person of the Messiah in the foreground of its eschatological framework.

Chapter XIX: Conclusions.

If one accepts our thesis, which holds that the Transfiguration is in direct relation with the Jewish festival of Tabernacles, one is then led to see more clearly the way in which the eschatological hopes of Judaism were realized in the person of Jesus. The phenomena described in the narrative of the Transfiguration are completely incomprehensible if one does not keep in mind two essential facts: the Messianic interpretation of the O.T. and the eschatological conceptions which crystallized about the contemporary cult.

So much for the bare contents of this learned and suggestive monograph (which is enriched by three Appendices, one on the Son of Man, another on the Suffering Messiah, and a third on Mark 2:1 ff., on the Messianic Sabbath). Riesenfeld himself confesses in a good many places that his theories of the connection between cult-myth and spiritualized theological interpretation rest upon slender documentary evidence. Many a reader will, like the reviewer, find additional uncertainties in the argument. But it is not fair to apply to a work of interpretation, which must take into account subtle differences of a subjective nature in the apperception of religious symbolism, the same strict standards of method that are essential in physical science. It may be true that a chain is only as strong as its weakest link; but it is also true that in the fields of philology and religious history very sound theories may be built upon a number of unproved assumptions, *providing that the assumptions taken together with demonstrated theories, make an intelligible pattern.* Such an intelligible pattern is offered by Riesenfeld, and so his general conclusions must be taken seriously. On the other hand, even a well-disposed critic may find it necessary to add that a different but equally intelligible pattern might be constructed from the materials so learnedly and ingeniously assembled by the author. The reviewer, however, has no alternative pattern to suggest, and is prepared to accept Riesenfeld's until a better one is discovered by another scholar.

Whether or not Riesenfeld's main conclusions are generally accepted within the next few years, there can be little doubt that his book will give rise to a considerable literature on this and similar problems, in which his broad approach and his philological-theological method will receive the flattery of imitation.

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The Way to Christ. By JACOB BOEHME. In a new translation by JOHN JOSEPH STOUDT. New York and London: Harper and Brothers, 1947. xxxix, 254 pp. $3.00.

St. Augustine, *De ordine* 2.31: Doctissimorum autem hominum litterae etiam sutores philosophatos et multa viliora fortunarum genera continenent.

The excellent if brief foreward, by Dr. Rufus M. Jones, captivates the imagination of the new reader at once, and the student already familiar with these writings will find himself re-reading it. Yet one can not help wishing that either he or the translator had added a line or two indicating that, in the interval between Boehme's remarkable "untrained mind" and his becoming "God-taught," he experienced a man's deepest struggle, spent himself in effort beyond accounting, and made the sacrifice demanded of the self by the Self.

There are no short cuts or byways, and "ye that labour and are heavy laden" means all of us whose "every taste desires its own like." And the dangers of this "doctrine" are as hazardous for us as ever they were for Boehme, therefore the reader should know something about this childlike man's striving—the ten years at his apprenticeship alone, and the twelve years he gave to "laborious reflection," and "himself confessed to have read the work of many masters and searched through them . . ."—these precede Boehme's first writings.

"God so willed that the pearl of His love should be set in the shell of popular contempt and cast in the sea of affliction . . ." does apply to Boehme, but emphasis ought not to be put on this or on his being a self-made genius, since this genius is the inheritance of all men; what we seek to know again is the "way," Boehme's discrimination, sagacity and perception, because the relentless cry is still, "Thou hast promised not to quench the smouldering wick." How else, indeed, shall those searching also come upon this something of the "secret of Jesus"?

In the West, we hold that "no one comes to these writings unless he is already a Christian," likewise that "no learning will avail, but only being born." Commentaries on the meaning of Scriptures will forever go on being written as guides and reminders for our taking of this rebirth. In the East, more precisely, India, it is a byword: "no man can loose his foolishness without the aid of a *guru,* preceptor." But our medium happens to be reading, hence the grave warning, "do not consider the inferior philosophers."

Dr. Stoudt's introduction and explanations of the work are manifestly pertinent. The Teutonic Theosopher is brought forth in the language of our own decade, as we see him, making us a part of this ancient and ever new thinking. But out of consideration to the translator and the reader there are several matters with which we take issue. This is only meant by way of expressing further appreciation of Boehme's work, the translator's courage, and the validity of the Eternal Truth. And for those who have already made the fragrance of the "lily" their quest—may this enhance its essence.

Above all else, Jacob Boehme would despise being called "original," "individual," or "a personality," and the reference (p. xvi) to "infinite value of the human personality" and "enduring value of the individual" cannot stand Boehme's piercing eyes. This is fundamentally true for the Vedanta and for Plato. If we accept the premise, "duo sunt in homine," it follows that we do not reject Boehme's "Not the I, that I am knows these things, but God knows them in me." This means what it says; what else does William Blake mean when he writes, "Lest the last judgment come and find me unannihilate and I be seiz'd and bound and given into the hands of my own selfhood."?

Such views have never been easy to accept— (p. xxvii), "this plurality and opposition of wills" (is) the very battle ground on which one overcomes or is over-come by the lesser self (ego) of *my* "personality." Whatever name we give it makes no difference, it is still the very enemy that "all Scripture cries aloud for freedom from (self)." If receiving this as an intellectual habit causes so much conflict, what to say of making this one's "practice"! Nothing less than Christ's sword can cut this tie, or as expressed in the Koran, "God said to David, 'O David hate thy soul, for My love depends on thy hatred of it.' "

To take it one step further, for our time comes, "when the deceased reaches the Sundoor the question is asked: 'Who art thou?' If he answers his own or by a family name, (names being fetters) he is dragged away by the factors of time." "Who art thou?" should be answered by "Who I am (is) the Light thou art. As such have I come to Thee, the heavenly Light." And here Rūmī's poignant line is appropriate, "Since thou art I, come in, O myself."

"But it is not a manual for the annihilation of the individual. Boehme was not a Buddhist or Armenian . . ." (p. xxxii). Never was it more important than now; no one is more responsible than writers

on religion, from whom one rightly requires the strictest respect for the Truth, but who can know the Truth about other religions unless they have studied them in their original languages and *con amore*? Reverence for the Truth means saying nothing and writing nothing that has been learned only second-hand. There are *no* translations and no books about other religions that can be followed blindly. One must have the wisdom to realize where knowledge stops—and stop there, or else risk re-hashing the same old errors. It is not intellectual inadequacy or wilful injustice in a scholar like Dr. Stoudt, but a kind of isolationist attitude that the elect have inherited, which René Guénon calls the "Classical prejudice." How long shall it be before we outgrow the idea that the world ends at Suez, and that everything that lies beyond must be wrong? Men like Dr. Stoudt who still take religious experience seriously, are to be held accountable for making the Truth universal, and any indications of its being *eigene* must be avoided at all costs (A. K. Coomaraswamy).

We hope that, in the promised magnum opus on Boehme, there will be many passages such as Hobhouse's *William Law* gives, "the truth is only then found when it is known to be of no sect but as free and universal as the goodness of God and as common to all names and nations as the air and light of this world."

Concerning page xxxi, "writings of mediaeval nuns and even Zinzendorf . . ."; to express more or less patience with erotic imagery is hardly to cope with it; why not explain the truth and avoid all embarrassment? "Nor ever chast, except thou ravish mee," is, so to speak, being "ravished" *in gloria*. The *Liebesgeschichte Himmels* has to be told in a technical language, hence "Indra, Krishna, and Christ, (as the Platonist and Puritan, Peter Sterry said, 'The Lord Jesus hath his Concubines, his Queenes, his Virgines; Saints . . . who kept themselves single for the immediate imbraces of their Love'). The Solar Spirit Divine Eros, Amor, is inevitably and necessarily 'poligamous', both in himself and in all his descents, because all creation is feminine to God, and every soul is his destined bride." We must distinguish between the immoral and amoral, and cannot apply our standards to the gods. Regarding "distinction between God and man," there would be value in making more of the how and when "Each is both," and "Thou shalt know when thou becomest Me," or, in Christian terms, "Unde sicut unitas est principium unionis, ita amor quo quis diligit seipsum,

est forma et radia amicitiae." Nor is this a work to be done singly and alone, "I truly have need of God, but God has need of me" (Meister Eckart).

"The soul hath heaven and hell within itself" is reducible to "Michael and dragon" are in me; I am the hero and the heroine in exile, until I have found the 'Way':

> "I lay no wood, O Brahma, for fires on altars,
> I kindle a light within . . . the heart the altar
> The flame thereon is self well broken in. . . .
> "Broken in by Truth, adept in such breaking in."

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Christian Perfection. By François de Salignac de La Mothe Fénelon. Translated by Mildred W. Stillman; edited and prefaced by Charles F. Whiston. New York and London, Harper and Brothers, 1947. xiii, 208 pp. $1.75.

A vigorous attempt was made, toward the end of Louis XIV's reign, to suppress Fénelon's doctrine of Pure Love. But it has come down to us, has been re-publicized far and wide, and has demonstrated its powers of survival by even moving across denominational lines. The Archbishop—an archbishop of seventeenth century France—has come to exert influence and acquire a considerable reputation in lands of predominantly Protestant background, including England and the United States. In these two countries, readers of devotional literature have seen many a sample of his creed. The way has been prepared for the present volume, an American translation of his *Instructions et avis sur divers points de la morale et de la perfection chrétienne.* It does mark, however, a noticeable advance; only fragments of this work have been translated into English thus far; here, we have a text which, but for the omission of some ten pages of slight importance, may for the first time be considered whole.

The *Instructions et avis* is essentially a collection of letters and notes drawn up, at a time when Fénelon was still an abbé, for the spiritual guidance of various personages at court, and particularly for Mme. de Maintenon, wife of the aging Louis XIV. They betray the influence of

the "quietist" Mme. Guyon. Written without circumspection, with no inkling of the controversy that was to follow, they set forth the doctrine of Pure Love more openly than later writings like the *Maximes des Saints* and, for that reason, remain for us a work of capital interest. They also have high documentary value, unrecognized until recently; they provide material indispensable for a thorough account of the early struggle between Bossuet and Fénelon.

It would not be necessary to call attention to these points if the translator and the editor had not almost completely ignored them. None of the deep undertones of the work are made audible. There is not a single reminder of Mme. Guyon, no hint of her influence. Mme. de Maintenon is barely mentioned; there is no indication that, although at first an admirer of the abbé, she finally grew wary of his doctrine and turned over his letters to a group of judges, among them the relentless Bossuet, who singled out some thirty unorthodox or questionable statements for censure.

Of Bossuet himself, though his shadow falls across so many of these pages, there is not so much as a glimpse. No reference to "quietism," no recollection of any controversy, no discussion of what to his contemporaries seemed disturbing in Fénelon's Pure Love and made him appear suspect of stressing individual experience and illumination at the expense of tradition. This translation, we are told, "is not a book of religious argument." But the *Instructions et avis* is just that, in a sense. It is, like the *Manuel de piété,* a survival of anonymous collections which appeared in Fénelon's lifetime, at the beginning of the eighteenth century, and made public his unapproved letters to Mme. de Maintenon; this very act of publication was a retort to Bossuet. Whether Fénelon actively directed or merely sanctioned the release of those collections is not yet clear; but whatever his precise role, his is patently the position of one proclaiming his innocence, long after the crisis, and still maintaining his stand. All this is brushed aside. We are allowed to imagine that we have before us the simple exposé of a faith unchallenged, unopposed, and peacefully triumphant; it leaves unrecorded a moving history of affirmation, of growing opposition, repression, silence under duress, and of ultimate re-affirmation.

To simplify the *Instructions* in this fashion was ill-advised, even if we take into account that this translation was intended to be solely "a book of devotion." Against the proper background, the "spiritual wis-

dom" that we are urged to receive would have emerged more forcefully. The bare text, to be sure, conveys the original message, and the nature of the work makes it admirably suited to devotional reading. At no point does it become a technical treatise for theologians. It is a book of worship and of guidance, replete with simple answers to laymen's questions on faith and religious deportment, with prayers, meditations, and veritable sermons. Fénelon's manner is direct, personal, fervent, and breathes intimate, warm understanding. There is no labored line of development, but simply a long series of letters inspired by a dominant religious sentiment; whether the caption be "Resignation," "Prayer for Complete Self-giving," "Knowing God," "Pure Love," "The Word Within," "Self-renunciation," each chapter reasserts precepts and feelings expressed in others, re-assembling them in new patterns, or new variations on a theme. This might make for monotony in a different sort of work, but for purposes of devotional contemplation, it can have a felicitous effect, inviting the reader as it does to renew time and again the same act of worship or meditation.

One could wish that in the English text, however, Fénelon's voice did not seem to crack or falter so often. No one would quarrel with the translator for not having recaptured the simple, delicate poetic quality of his prose, unique even in French. A plain, steady reconstruction of the sense would do. But, although at times so close to the French as to sound almost like a literal classroom translation, Mrs. Stillman's text, in too many instances, is surprisingly at odds with the original. For example, *se moquent* surely does not mean "fool themselves" (p. 67), and *ne faire aucun marché avec lui* means "not to strike any bargain with him," hardly "not to take one step without him" (pp. 67-68); "do all which inspires true love" (p. 62) should read "do all that true love inspires"; Fénelon did not write "makes us seek it with pressure, trouble" (p. 145) but ". . . with eagerness, disquietude." In such cases, unfortunately, the error is not discernible, although it vitiates the sense; the context does not betray any discrepancy. But the reader will suspect that something is amiss when he finds "O, how amiable is religion!" (p. 42), or "there is no longer virtue in long prayers" (p. 33)—Fénelon says "neither is there virtue in long prayers," which is consistent with the rest—or "Be content . . . with a confused idea of God" (pp. 94-95), instead of "with a dim vision of God." The reader, finally, will be startled when he comes to certain

lines that cannot possibly mean what they state. The flow of thought is obstructed. A glance at the French reveals that indeed Fénelon meant, and clearly expressed, the very opposite. Thus, he did not write ". . . to us . . . who may not flee the folly of the cross . . ." (p. 45) but on the contrary, ". . . to us . . . who for all that flee the folly of the cross"; nor did he write "Who will dare deny that God could not annihilate my soul . . .?" (p. 142) but "Who will dare deny that God *could* have annihilated my soul . . .?"—the very crux of an important development. To emend the whole text would require too much space. Let it suffice to indicate that the translator does not always seem in full agreement with herself. One long passage ("Their mistake . . . he commands"), in the French, is transcribed word for word from the chapter on "Semi-Conversions" to the chapter on "Abandonment to God"—an accident of editing that has befallen a few other passages, and which a careful translation would have made apparent. Yet the second time, Mrs. Stillman so frequently retouches the text that one must think she was not fully aware of the duplication, or was dissatisfied with her first version. Some of the recasting shows a considerable change of heart: "the same for all conditions" (that is, "for all walks of life") is unfortunately replaced by "under all conditions"; "woe to the ignorant priest, either cowardly or a flatterer" is corrected to read "woe to the priest who is ignorant or weak and flattering"; "gives him . . . the spirit to desire and to do what he commands," which is a good translation, is weakened to "gives him . . . the will to do what he commands."

All this is not to deny that Mrs. Stillman has performed a labor of devotion. In behalf of her spiritual guide, whom she names as the "saintly" Fénelon, she has undertaken an uncommonly strenuous task. But only much more care, closer scrutiny, and stronger reinforcements of scholarship would have produced a thoroughly helpful, important translation.

NATHAN EDELMAN

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The Political Theory of the Hugenots of the Dispersion, with Special Reference to the Thought and Influence of Pierre Jurieu. By GUY HOWARD DODGE. New York: Columbia Press, 1947. ix, 287 pp. $3.50.

Although the word "theory" appears in the singular in Dr. Dodge's title, nothing in the book comes out more clearly than the fact that the Huguenot political writers of Jurieu's time offered to their readers

a variety of competing theories. The eminence of Jurieu among them seems to consist in the abundance and ardor of his writings rather than in any essential superiority of his mind. Embarrassed in monarchist France by the extremes of resistance to the Stuarts by their fellow Calvinists in England, seventeenth-century Huguenot writers, unlike their predecessors of the sixteenth century, had declared for monarchy in no uncertain terms. On the very eve of the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, and no doubt in a vain hope of averting that catastrophe, Elie Merlat, from his refuge in Lausanne, vigorously advocated royal absolutism. A few years later Pierre Bayle, who was dissociated from his former Huguenot colleagues, asserted the authority of the secular state over religious parties even to the point of approving heartily the Duke of Savoy's violent expulsion of the Vaudois in 1686. Jacques Abbadie, in opposition to Bayle and in commendation of the English Revolution of 1688, took a moderate position in favor of the limitation of monarchy. Jurieu, whose numerous treatises are closely examined by Dr. Dodge, moved from a monarchist position to vehement assertion of the authority of the people.

Pierre Jurieu (1637-1713) had fled from Sedan to Rotterdam in 1681, having been identified as the author of a dialogue in which he charged the clergy of France with disloyalty to the king. In this and other treatises of the early eighties, he held that the Edict of Nantes was really, as it announces itself, "irrevocable," but offered no specific attack upon unlimited monarchy. His *Reflections on the Cruel Persecution . . .* (1685) is described by Dr. Dodge, however, as "a violent protest against the worship of the monarch." It was the fate of the Huguenots at the Revocation, and the success of the Revolution in England, that swept him into a position not far removed from that of the Monarchomachs of the 1570's. From 1686 to 1689 he issued his celebrated bimonthly Pastoral Letters addressed to the faithful oppressed in "Babylon" (France). For their encouragement he featured apocalyptic prophecy. The three and a half days (years) of Rev. 11:9, 11, corresponded neatly to the time of James II's reign, and also to the period between the Revocation and the coronation of William III. In the later letters of this series, Jurieu handles central political questions, "mingling Biblical arguments, historical precedents, and philosophical reasoning based on natural law" in the manner of the *Vindiciae contra tyrannos.*

Even more celebrated than the Pastorals was the series of *Les Soupirs . . . . (The Sighs of Captive France)* which immediately followed (1689-90). On a comparison of its contents with known opinions of Jurieu, as well as from other evidence, Dodge is convinced that *Les Soupirs* is from Jurieu's pen. It may be noted that in representing himself here as a Roman Catholic advising others of that communion, the writer was taking a leaf from Bayle's book, but he is a vigorous opponent of Gallicanism and deplores the loss of liberty suffered by all subjects of Louis XIV. The War of the League of Augsburg and the War of the Austrian Succession in turn revived Jurieu's fading hope of the overthrow of Louis, and the Camisard revolt called forth from him a plea "to all Protestant and Roman Catholic allies" for effective aid to this resistance movement.

In the unfolding of Jurieu's thought our author discovers some inconsistencies, but we may say that after 1689 it assumes substantial integrity. Dodge holds, indeed, that his political theory before and after the Revocation shows less contrast than has been supposed. The later doctrine of popular sovereignty was, he thinks, already present in the early writings "in more than latent form," and he never became "antimonarchical at heart." But Jurieu's consistency, as with other Calvinists, lies in religion, and political inconsistencies can be understood in the light of absolute religious consistency. It is always evident in this book that Jurieu was primarily concerned for the Huguenot flock and the Protestant cause. His political ideas were evolved in the interests of his fellow religionists, and while they form a fairly coherent theory, their expression varied with the shifting prospects of Protestantism.

We are given insight into the nature of Jurieu's controversy with Bayle, and some light is shed upon the resemblances and differences between his views and those of Locke. Bayle, who looked upon religion as merely a matter of opinion, would have the Hugenots make a complete submission to the king, but he also argued for a general tolerance even for erring consciences. Jurieu pointed out that since persecutors may sincerely act on an erring conscience, the desired toleration will not follow the principle. In controversy with Bossuet on the one hand and with Bayle on the other, he stood for a religious compulsion tempered by humanity and rarely, if ever, resorting to the death penalty. Toleration as a universal principle was beyond him, though he moves toward it in certain particulars and recognizes a realm of things un-

essential. Locke's secular notion that "there is no such thing as a Christian Commonwealth" was alien to his Calvinist theocratic conception of the state. "Whatever measure of toleration Jurieu allowed," says Dodge, "the beneficiary was always the church."

The chapter on "Jurieu and Tolerance" includes a searching analysis of his doctrine of the church, and his interpretation of synodical church government. Light may be thrown on this if we give the substance of a footnote on an earlier page of the book where Jurieu is quoted as saying of ecclesiastical authority: "It . . . does not come immediately from God to *(sur)* the synods, from the synods to the pastors and from the pastors to the people, but it comes from God immediately to the people, and from the people it arises to the synods and to the bishops" (p. 89).

The synods remain bound by scripture and the faith of the Christian people. In some such way he conceived of political authority as residing ultimately by divine right in the people and projected upward to their rulers, who are restricted by contractual obligations to the people and by divine and natural law. By natural law the people have a right of "conservation," and every individual is obligated to maintain this right against tyranny, just as sailors rush to the aid of the shipwrecked without thereby investing themselves with the office of admiral.

The book is a treasury of information. In addition to the wealth of detail given in the text, it is supplied with copious footnote quotations from sources, thirty-five pages of bibliography and thirteen pages of index. Dr. Dodge has spared no pains to make his research sound and ample. In a manifest effort to be objective, he avoids any attempt to lead us to broad conclusions. Such generalizations as he has to offer are, I hope fairly, reported above; they are to be discovered only in sentences and paragraphs strewn amid expositions of treatises. To the reader who has made his way through these, Dr. Dodge owed a chapter by way of summary and general evaluation.

The errors I have noted are few and minor. The words of Merlat's title (p. 7) are jumbled. The statement (p. 14) that Louis XIV's Gallican policy was in 1693 "completely reversed in favor of Ultramontanism," is highly exaggerated. Louis maintained the *droit de régale* and continued his control of episcopal elections. The author's incidental judgment of Althusius (p. 65) may be challenged on the basis of P. S. Gerbrandy's Taylorian Lecture: *National and Internation Stability: Althusius Grotius, Van Vollenhoven* (Cambridge, Mass., 1944), where Althusius ap-

pears as "a consistent pupil of the University of Geneva" and certainly not as a secularist. When (p. 3) the *Vindiciae* is attributed to "Languet or Mornay," the Languet *and* Mornay thesis which appears to have some validity, is by implication incautiously rejected. "Doumerque" appears for "Doumergue" in the bibliography (p. 262), and that author's seven volumes on Calvin are made to appear as one by the use of the date of the first volume only. The slight nature of these flaws affords an indication of the fact that the book as a whole is carefully, conscientiously and competently wrought.

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The Censoring of Diderot's "Encyclopédie" and the Re-established Text. By DOUGLAS H. GORDON and NORMAN L. TORREY. New York: Columbia University Press, 1947. xii, 124 pp. $3.00.

When the great eighteenth-century *Encyclopédie* was definitely suppressed by the French government in 1759, after the year-by-year appearance of the first seven of these big folio volumes, Diderot and the associated publishers determined to go on and complete the enterprise, launching the rest of the work anonymously and under a false title page in one formidable volley, beyond the reach—it was hoped—of effective interference. In this way, the final ten volumes of text were at length distributed to the more than 4,000 subscribers (p. 21) in 1766, though still with some difficulties and only under police supervision (pp. 23 f.).

Meanwhile, the wary publisher, Le Breton, had secretly taken into his own hands the censorship of the bolder of Diderot's articles in which he had endeavored to step up his attacks against absolutism in Church and State (pp. 25 f.). Of this fact, the editor at first knew nothing, since the changes and excisions were made after the return of the corrected proofs to the printer. When the author did discover Le Breton's action, his anger burst all bounds. The letter he wrote under date of November 12, 1764, is an understandably violent excoriation of what he could only regard as the basest treachery (pp. 32 ff.).

Diderot's daughter, Mme. de Vandeul, early after her father's death, gave currency to a story that Le Breton, unwilling of course to restore the articles, had nevertheless, under the author's insistence, made some

measure of restitution by printing up for him a special copy of the *Encyclopédie* with the text in its original form (pp. 3, 6 f.). Yet no concrete evidence had been unearthed to support this intriguing possibility, rendered implausible in any case by the prohibitive expense involved.

At length, in 1933, Dr. Douglas H. Gordon of Baltimore acquired a set of the *Encyclopédie* with a unique extra volume of material containing more than 300 proof sheets and corrections in Diderot's hand (pp. v, 5, 110). The heraldic arms of the eighteenth-century owner, though unidentified, make it improbable that the set went to Russia as part of the philosopher's private library purchased by Catherine the Great, in spite of Mme. de Vandeul's claims (p. 6). Rather, the volumes appear to have been the property of Le Breton himself. Prior to 1933, this edition of the *Encyclopédie* had been sold by the Soviet government to a group of German dealers, whence it passed in turn through the hands of several booksellers to Dr. Gordon in this country (pp. v ff.). Thus, the story of Mme. de Vandeul, though characteristically inaccurate in details, has suddenly gained dramatic confirmation as to the essential fact of preservation, in their original form, of Diderot's censored articles.

It was another significant contribution to scholarship of the late Professor Horatio Smith that he brought together his colleague at Columbia University, Professor Norman L. Torrey, and the owner of these proof sheets of the *Encyclopédie,* Dr. Gordon. The happy result is this important little volume, with its study and restoration of the text of the censored articles.

The book is firm and concise, thoroughly objective in its treatment of the opposing sides of Diderot and Le Breton. There are seven illustrations, including excellent facsimiles of censored proof sheets. It is clear that the publisher did his voluntary task of censorship with much more skill than was attributed to him by the author in his excited and emotional letter (pp. 63 f.). The articles were joined together, after excisions, quite without the clumsy botching charged by the angry philosopher. "At times Le Breton was diabolically clever" (p. 63). Moreover, a proofreader, with his obligation to read every word, was obviously the most efficient possible censor from the standpoint of a conservative anxious only for thoroughness in catching all offensive material (p. 64). Le Breton's prudence as a business man, eager to protect his heavy investments and to avoid an enforced lodging in the Bastille, may readily be understood, if not condoned. Diderot himself, under the pressure of

tyranny and arbitrary repression, had been impelled "to launch his daring philosophy under the cover of encyclopedic knowledge, by subterfuge and innuendo" (p. 39). Thus, from Le Breton's point of view, it was a case of fighting fire with fire.

For the general reader, the most important part of this book is Chapter IV, "The Nature of the Censored Material." In spite of its complexity, the story is summarized with admirable clarity. Naturally, venality of office and the detestable practice of farming out the taxes were attacked by Diderot. Equally naturally, they were cut by the nervous Le Breton (p. 41). Higher criticism of the biblical account of Isaac's miraculous birth likewise fell beneath his destructive pen (p. 43). The Protestant proclivities of Diderot's collaborator, Jaucourt, were toned down (pp. 44 f.). When Diderot slyly noted that the damned, being always more numerous than the elect, can hardly be housed in the center of the earth, Le Breton vigorously struck out the offending sentence in the article, "Paradise" (p. 46). The article on the skeptical Pyrrhonian philosophy took extensive and, from Diderot's viewpoint, grievous cuts (pp. 48 f.). A similar fate befell one of his favorite articles, that on the Saracens (pp. 54 ff.). The whole brief article on the dangerous subject of the Sects of Christianity went by the board (pp. 54, 56). One of Diderot's most ingenious devices for trying to slip material past the censors had been to include subversive ideas in sentences used to illustrate seemingly innocent definitions of words or distinctions between synonyms. Here Le Breton's keen-eyed proofreader again came to the fore (p. 64). Many other examples of the publisher's censorship might be given. Of these changes Diderot himself was the principal victim, as, no doubt, of all the collaborators the most daring and provocative.

Two supplementary sections of the book present for the scholar the completely re-established text of the censored articles and a list of the documents found in this important extra volume of the *Encyclopédie*.

Since there was no official censor for the last ten volumes, Diderot had felt free to extend himself and go further in boldness than had been possible in those published earlier with the grudging permission of the government. When Le Breton thus secretly checkmated him, the editor's rage and disappointment were naturally the greater (p. 63). Hence it is that "critics have been unable to distinguish any great difference in spirit between the first seven and the last ten volumes, even though it was known that the latter were not subjected to official censorship" (p. 25 f.).

"In spite of the publisher's unwarranted excisions," however, concludes Professor Torrey, "there was enough of the subversive left in the *Encyclopédie* to justify its reputation as the chief intellectual weapon in the destruction of the Old Régime. For no censoring of the letter could possibly destroy the scientific and critical spirit that was the basis of the entire enterprise" (p. 64).

The difficult task of proofreading this book has been so well carried out that the present reviewer has noted only one slip: "provenance" for "prévenance" (p. 54).

"Censorship is as old as man and as enduring," observes Professor Torrey.

> Whenever it has interfered with the free communication of ideas, it has retarded intellectual progress. Yet it may call attention to unusual ideas and so aid in their dissemination. . . . But it is also conceivable that posterity may be too late in recognizing the importance of a suppressed idea. In any case, censorship necessarily affects both the direction and speed of the development of ideas. Grimm, who was neither a radical nor an intellectual coward, was sure that the persecution of ideas was always harmful and cited as proof Le Breton's censoring of the *Encyclopédie*" (p. 27).

So we may be unduly optimistic in our inclination to think that beneficent ideas always break through opposition in the long run. And what happens, we may ask, when the thinkers themselves are liquidated, as the callous modern phrase runs? Do their ideas disappear with them, perhaps forever? In this present age of renewed censorship and demands for censorship, Professor Torrey's excellent discussion is most timely. It not only clarifies one of the striking episodes of literary history in that always thought-provoking eighteenth century, it challenges reflection on the crucial problem of free speech and a free press as it exists in our own uncertain and troubled day.

George R. Havens

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Seeds of Redemption. By Bernard Eugene Meland. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1947. ix, 162 pp. $2.50.

Professor Meland has written a book which displays two qualities that are rare indeed in theological literature—a lively sense of the reader and an artist's conscience. The first is shown by the conversa-

tional directness, though never over-familiarity, which makes reading the book an engrossing as well as a profitable experience. The second is revealed in the grave and gracious style, exactly suited to the book's purpose, which exerts a persuasiveness far more telling than argument and evokes a participation in the author's own awareness and brooding.

The book is more like a long sermonic essay, in both form and substance, than a treatise in theology. Dr. Meland wishes, he says, to affirm the priority of the sensitive life. His motive is to reawaken and refurnish what he calls the appreciative consciousness, which has been depleted and all but destroyed by our preoccupation with precise methods in science, our concentration of power in mammoth impersonal units, and our social worship of efficiency and success. Thus, while simple enough in itself, the main principle of the book has many ramifications and bearings. It affords the author a perspective in which not only aesthetic but social criticism is made, and metaphysical as well as religious suggestions are offered. The spirit in which all this is done is earnest, gentle, persuasive; indeed, the book is a fine illustration of the sensitiveness for which its author constantly pleads.

What, more exactly, is Meland's perspective? He writes with the phrases and frame of reference of theological naturalism, yet his book is also intended as a critique of this tradition. Sharp things are said about scientism, industrialism, and social pragmatism. It is insisted that great art and great faith go hand in hand, that only imagination, with its profound evoking of elemental, creaturely experience, as in biblical tales and visions, can save us. Yet the temper of the book is as far from fideism and revelationism as it is from scientism and pragmatism.

Is naturalism here demonstrating its supposed capacity to become self-critical and expansive, or does Professor Meland's book reveal its inner tensions and ambiguities as a mode of religious thought? It seems clearly true that, in Meland's thought at least, naturalism is at war with itself. The conflict is not between poetic awareness and naturalistic assumptions—Lucretius, after all, was also an aesthetic naturalist—but between the very way of knowing upon which all naturalisms are based and another way of knowing which all naturalisms join in rejecting. What makes naturalism possible and gives it consistency in the realm of thought is its claim that scientific method, seeking precise description and analytical explanation of visible fact, is the archetype of

all true knowledge. This claim Meland repeatedly refuses to allow, in spite of the evidences of influence upon his own thinking of reductive naturalism (a child is "a delicate mass of being"; mind is "the mechanism of adjustment"). So he writes: "Exactness will rid us of illusions, but it may not open our eyes to reality. Exactness will correct our errors; it may not give us truth" (pp. 45-46). One cannot read Meland's book without seeing that a chief concern is to put the method of science firmly in its place, to accept it for limited service only, and to stress that there are "vistas to explore beyond its restricted view." If this can properly be called naturalism at all, it is nevertheless naturalism straining at its bonds, bulging at the seams, impatient to be free.

Professor Meland's conception of God illustrates in crucial form this difficulty. In it elements taken from the earlier, almost sensationalistic religious philosophy of Wieman are blended with those borrowed from the high Platonism of Whitehead. To Meland as to Wieman, creativity is God; and yet this is not so much a process as a poem. More accurately, perhaps, creativity or God is what Whitehead calls the poet of the world. Unlike Whitehead, Meland rejects the analogy of mind for describing the work of God. Unlike Wieman, he posits sensitivity—by which, one supposes, he means at least awareness and appreciation—in God. This analogy, at any rate, he relies most heavily upon. His conception, briefly put, is that of "a sensitive Nature within nature," a creative cosmic artist who works by what Meland delights to term "the power of gentle might."

This idea of God is a very tenuous thread on which to hang the full rich burden of the Christian faith, as Meland believes it possible to do. Theologically, the categories of redemption and creation are not distinguished but are both understood as that "tender, patient, gracious working" which to Meland is the whole of God's way with men. This view knows nothing of creation in the Christian sense, but only of nature—a nature that contains even God. It seems to be an aesthetic attitude toward life which has already found metaphysical background coming now to terms with the Christian faith. It is not what Anselm of Canterbury would have called faith in search of understanding, or what Whitehead termed religion generating a metaphysics.

Although Professor Meland's finely-grained and delicate approach needs both metaphysical rigor and Christian penetration, it is not to be ignored by thoughtful and responsible men. His warning against me-

diocrity needs to be heeded. His profound concern for human community needs to be shared. And while his gospel of the sensitive life may not be enough to match the agonizing realities of our time, we shall be poor indeed if we think we can do without it.

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Frammenti Coranici in carattere cufici nella Bibioteca Vaticana (Codici Vaticani Arabi 1605 e 1606). By GIORGIO LEVI DELLA VIDA. (Studi e Testi No. 132.) Citta del Vaticano, 1947. xi, 57 pp., with 20 plates.

The problem of a critical edition of the text of the Qur'ān involves two preliminary tasks, first, the collection and classification of the textual variants which are recorded in Islamic literature—exegetical, grammatical, theological, and lexicographical; second, a study of the earliest manuscript material that is available to us. It was to facilitate this latter task that the late Professor Bergsträsser started the famous Qur'ānic Archive, which was housed in the State Library at Munich, and was continued after Bergsträsser's death by Drs. Pretzl and Spitaler.

Many Libraries and private collections, both in Europe and the Orient, contain fragments, sometimes odd leaves, but sometimes considerable portions of early Qur'ānic Codices. There are also some papyrus fragments, and there are Qur'ānic verses or parts of verses included in some of the early inscriptions. The inscriptions are for the most part dated or datable, but the verses they contain are invariably the popular verses, and so are not a great help for textual problems. Also the papyri so far examined have contained only the popular Qur'ānic formulae. Our sole important source of this kind for questions of text is, thus, the collections of fragments from early Codices of the Qur'ān. The problem of dating these, however, is a serious one. The dates assigned to some of the recorded Codices and fragments by the early investigators were admittedly guesses, and criteria for dating which have been suggested more recently have not been satisfactory. There is no reason why accurate criteria for dating this material should not be palaeographically established. A prerequisite, however, is complete description of as large a number as possible of the fragments now lying in the various libraries.

A beginning at this task was made as early as 1780, when J. G. C. Adler published a description of some of the Kūfic Codices in the Royal Library at Copenhagen. In 1851, Michele Amari studied some of the Codices and fragments in the great collection in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris. In Vol. VI of the St. Petersburg *Zapiski,* in 1892, A. Shebunin gave a detailed description of the famous Samarquand Codex, which was published in facsimile there by Pisareff in 1905. Shebunin also published, in 1901, in Vol. XIV of the *Zapiski,* a similarly detailed description of the Cairo Codex No. 534. B. Moritz published reproductions of pages from certain other Codices in the Cairo collection in his album on *Arabic Palaeography,* in 1905, and a number of photographs with description of the fragments from Moritz' own collection, now in the Chicago Oriental Institute, were published by Miss Nabia Abbott in her *Rise of the North Arabic Script,* in 1939. In the volume before us, Dr. Levi della Vida does the same for the Qur'ānic fragments preserved in the Vatican Library.

His work on this is a model for such publication. The descriptions are careful and minutely detailed. He indulges in no theorizing, but comparison with other published fragments is always given where such comparison is relevant, and all variants from the standard Cairo text, whether in reading, orthography or verse numbering are scrupulously noted. Twenty beautifully reproduced plates illustrate the various groups of fragments dealt with in the descriptions. The author promises to continue with a similar description of the fragments preserved at the University Museum in Philadelphia. It is ardently to be hoped that similar publication of the material of this kind in other collections may be undertaken, for only on the basis of such studies can we hope to find a satisfactory solution for many problems connected with the early history of the Qur'ānic text.

The specific problem raised by the verse divisions and numbering in some of the fragments in this work is too large to be entered into here. The variants the author notes in the titles to some of the Sūras are all well known to the Masoretic literature, and in most cases seem to be older names than those used in the modern editions. With regard to the textual variants he has recorded we may note the following:

IX, 82/83—the *jazā'an* is not really a variant. In most lithographs from Cairo, Constantinople, or India, the text actually has *jazā'an* as this MS has. The *jazā'a* in the Cairo Standard text is only because it

bears a Masoretic *m* sign to indicate *idghām* of the ending of the *tanwīn* with the following letter *b*. Thus all that the writing of the—*an* would signify would be that the scribe was ignoring *idghām*.

XI, 91/93—the *naqūlu* for *taqūlu* may be merely a slip of the pen, only one dot showing where two were meant to show; or it may be a genuine scribal error, the scribe, copying from a model and not from a voice, having been influenced by the *n* of the verbs which precede and follow. It can hardly be a genuine variant, for the sense of the passage demands *taqūlu*.

XI, 123—*ya'lamūna* was the reading of the Kūfan Readers save Ḥafṣ, and is the reading preferred by az-Zamakhsharī in his Commentary.

XII, 101/100—the omission of *al-Ḥakīm* can be due only to scribal negligence.

XVII, 2—*yattakhidhu* was the reading of the Baṣran Readers Abū 'Amr and al-Yazīdī, as well as of Mujāhid, Qatāda, Ibn Abī 'Abla, Ibn Khuthaim, Abū Ḥaiwa and Ibn Miqsam, among the older Readers.

XXI, 31/30—tu'minūna is a possible variant, but is not recorded in any of the Masoretic literature so far examined.

LXXXIX, 10/9—*dhā* for *dhī* here is a possible variant, the reader taking the preceding word *fir'awna* as *manṣūb* rather than *majrūr*. It is not recorded, however, and is more likely to be an error of the scribe.

ARTHUR JEFFERY

Columbia University

Avatar: The Life Story of the Perfect Master, Meher Baba. By JEAN ADRIEL. Santa Barbara, Calif.: J. F. Rowny Press, 1947. viii, 284 pp. $3.50.

This is a difficult book to review, because it is really two life stories, that of Meher Baba and that of Jean Adriel, and to a psychologist of religion the latter is the more gripping of the two. The Baba's story follows the usual pattern of the spiritual development of a holy man in India, from his initiation in youth into the path of illumination, through the final goal of complete "God realization," and subsequent acceptance as the founder of a large cult of disciples. The story of Jean Adriel follows the more unusual pattern of the cultivated Western woman who, like Margaret Noble and Madeleine Slade, has found

the goal of her spiritual quest in the life of discipleship at the feet of an Indian "Perfect Master." It is, therefore, a temptation to review a book like this from the point of view of the psychology of discipleship in its most extreme, and, to the "tough-minded" Westerner, most incomprehensible form. But, for the purposes of this journal, it is, perhaps, more useful to confine it to a study of the truly remarkable personality of the Baba himself.

The concept of the Avatar, the God-man, is too familiar to the student of Oriental religions to require any apology. The Baba's claim to be the human embodiment of the Supreme Being destined to bring about a great spiritual regeneration in the world is no sign of an unbalanced mind; it is simply part and parcel of the Indian religious heritage. Did not Krishna say in the *Gita:* "Whenever there is a decline of virtue and a resurgence of evil and injustice in the world, I, the Avatar, take human form. For the establishment of righteousness, the destruction of the evil-doer, I am born from age to age." There are many such "God-men" in India today, greater and lesser avatars, but the unique thing about Meher Baba is his own particular method of achieving his purpose. Instead of remaining in the seclusion of a hermitage revealing truth to a few chosen disciples, he is continually on the go, traveling by bus the length and breadth of India, making long journeys to Europe—Italy, France, England—and even to America, in search of those who, by their experiences in previous lives and spiritual development in this, have been prepared to receive his message and become his co-workers in the salvation of the world, thus establishing a kind of network of spiritual agents in all parts of the world.

Of course these co-workers must be trained for their part in the great enterprise, and the most fascinating part of the book is the author's account of her own experiences at the Baba's Ashram at Nasik. Here, in a group of fifteen assorted English and American disciples, she and her husband were put through the most fantastic and inconceivable course of "group psycho-analysis," calculated to discourage even the most stalwart soul! Herself a trained social worker, and by no means ignorant of psychoanalytical theory and method, Jean Adriel is well fitted to give a shrewd analysis of the Baba's therapeutic techniques. His diabolical cleverness in precipitating emotional crises wins her somewhat reluctant admiration. She writes: "All had egos which were yet far from having been eliminated, and since it is Baba's therapy to

bring into the open whatever egoistic tendencies are hindering the free flow of God-force in the soul, what a potential store of dynamite our Ashram turned out to be!" (p. 179). Part of the Baba's strategy for *"wearing down the disciple's ego"* is, of course, the Guru's age-old demand for absolute obedience, and he does not hesitate to put his patient into embarrassing and absurd positions in fulfilling his commands. For example, Jean's husband, Malcom, was required to make the return trip from India to California in complete silence, leaving her, with no knowledge of foreign languages, to deal with all contingencies!

The Baba is not a Hindu, but a Parsi, and he does not force celibacy upon his disciples, believing that monogamous marriage is not wholly incompatible with spiritual development, although celibacy is preferable for those who do not find sex-restraint too difficult. His fondness for children is notable, and one of his daily tasks at Meherabad was the washing of thirty "untouchable" boys in his school with his own hands, —a symbolic ritual which required almost four hours to perform. His devotion to these half-starved boys, to whom he gave food and clothing as well as some sort of education, is one of the most winning aspects of his nature.

One is so acustomed to the life of inactivity of Hindu saints, that the Baba's life of incessant action is something of a shock. The theory underlying these various strenuous pursuits is sacramentalism. The washing of the boys is for the purpose of cleansing their consciousness of egocentric limitations. He also washed their clothes for the same purpose, and daily ground the grain into flour to feed the community. His disciples shared his strenuous life, ministering to the destitute, caring for the sick, including lepers, and doing all the menial work in school and hospital.

One of the most extraordinary activities of the Baba is his work with the *masts,* mentally deranged *sadhus,* gathered together at his Rahuri Ashram from all over India. These "God-mad" men, who have become unbalanced by intense longing for God, or over-extreme yoga practices, are brought to him for treatment, and many of them are cured and either return to normal life or remain to be trained as his disciples. His method of psychotherapy is unique, consisting mainly of personal service by the Baba himself. He bathes, clothes, and feeds them with his own hands, with utmost tenderness. "He never coerces

them in any way; and if they are not in the mood to be bathed, fed, clothed—and none of them seems to enjoy being clothed—Baba sits by, waiting patiently until he is given the 'go-ahead' signal." It is by this sacramental ritual that he restores them to sanity.

The Baba has received much publicity for his famous vow of silence, now in its twenty-second year, his only means of communication being an alphabet board. Many times he has set the date for breaking his silence, but has always postponed it until later. The reason for this remains an enigma to his disciples, but they believe that when he does at last speak, it will mark the beginning of his world mission as savior of mankind.

The high spot of this book, dramatically speaking, is the ten-page description of the Baba's birthday feast at the Nasik Ashram, from which we abstract a brief outline:

> All of his devotees, embracing Brahmin, Mahratta, Harijan, Christian, Parsi and Mohammedan, were notified and their help solicited in distributing the handbills in different languages among the slum districts in the Bombay Presidency, the Gugurat and the Deccan, inviting the poor to the birthday feast. . . . An enormous tent, two hundred and fifty feet long by one hundred and fifty feet wide, was erected to protect the visitors from the heat and glare of the sun. . . . All the paraphernalia to cook and serve food to fifteen hundred people was imported from Bombay.
>
> Thousands of yards of cloth had been purchased, together with tons of rice and lentils to be made into birthday packages for the poor. The Westerners worked at all spare moments tying up these bundles of food, until finally a pyramid of packages, twelve feet high, arose in the midst of the garden.
>
> When we awakened at daybreak and looked toward the tents, we saw milling mobs of poor people being held within bounds by some of the devotees and stalwart Indian police, who had been called out from Nasik to help preserve order. Punctually at six o'clock the procession started, and, until seven o'clock that night, ten thousand beggers filed past Baba, receiving the bundles of grain and cloth from the disciples and from Baba's hand sweetmeats and blessing. "*This* is India," whispered one of the Eastern men. ". . . Over eighty percent of India's population is like this!"
>
> I had done social work in the slums of America's greatest cities, and thought I had seen most abject poverty. But the people in those slums dressed like princes in comparison to these poor creatures. . . . Hour after hour, these ten thousand men, women and children in all stages of poverty and physical need filed past the platform, holding out emaciated hands for food and bundle. . . . One woman—as tattered as the worst—was so lost in ecstasy at Baba's feet that she had to be helped to get up and move along.
>
> In the middle of the afternoon someone asked him if his back hurt. Leaning

over and touching with one hand the feet of ten thousand people, and with the other handing out ten thousand balls of *ladoo* sweet-meat, with only brief intervals of rest, was a strenuous ordeal even for a Master's body. "My back aches so much it doesn't ache at all!" he admitted, smiling a little wearily.

How superbly Baba transcended the pain involved in this drama, some of us knew later that night, after the distribution of gifts was over, and the beggers had departed. About midnight—the hour when Baba would break his forty-day fast—he called us to the main house. We seated ourselves around the couch where Baba lay prostrated. Never before had we Westerners seen him like this. . . . Wearily, he passed his hand over his eyes, inhaled deeply a few times, then looked upon us with a wan smile. "I want to talk to you about this day's activity and what it signifies for my Universal work."

We begged him to defer it until the next day when he would be more rested. But no, that was the psychological moment, apparently. He must impose upon his fatigued and underfed body the task of ministering soul-food to his Western neophytes. . . . Toward one o'clock in the morning he bade us goodnight. The next morning at five, he was fully refreshed and busy with the hundred and one details of the celebration, all of which he personally directed.

The second day of the celebration was one of great rejoicing. On this day the thousand or more devotees who had traveled from all parts of India brought their adoration to Baba—whom they worshipped as an incarnation of God. Through symbolic rituals they found appropriate outlet for their devotion. These ceremonies began with the washing of the Master's feet. Baba's Mother led the procession of women who were the first to offer their homage.

In the ceremony of washing the feet the Western group asked permission to participate. As I approached Baba he gave me an amused smile and when I looked up into his face after finishing the ablutions I was greeted with a solemn wink of one eye, showing with what detachment he plays the game with *maya*, according to the individual need.

MARGUERITE BLOCK

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BOOK NOTES

Cat's Yawn. New York: First Zen Institute of America, Inc., 1947. 88 pp. $5.00.

Persons who are interested in the life of the mind and those who need assistance in their efforts to understand Zen will be grateful for this book. They will join the reviewer in congratulating the First Zen Institute on the excellence of this publication, which is the first of a series projected for the purpose of making known to the western world the work of a modern exponent of the Zen tradition. In this carefully prepared, beautiful re-issue of *Cat's Yawn,* we are reminded that there are precious elements in Japanese civilization—elements too little known and not sufficiently studied in the West.

A visit to the card catalogue of any large library in the eastern part of the United States reveals the fact that there are too few works on Zen. One finds, to be sure, the books of Nukariya, Ohasama, Steinilber-Oberlin, and of Dr. and Mrs. Suzuki. Among these, Dr. Suzuki's are deservedly the best known, the most extensive, and the most suggestive to date. But, with the single exception of Ohasama, the writers mentioned were not equipped to write authoritatively on Zen. The little volume of Professor Shuej Ohasama, *Zen: der lebendige Buddhismus in Japan* (Gotha, 1925), remained for years the best authentic, brief treatment of the subject in any European language. Now it must be supplemented by the book here under review.

Like Ohasma's work, *Cat's Yawn* was written by one of the disciples of Shokatsu Shaku, himself a pupil of Soyen Shaku, Sokei-an, the first Zen Master to make his home in the West, assisted by his students in New York, and it is intended for an American audience of the kind that used to attend his lectures. Both Ohasama and Sokei-an were among the four disciples acknowledged by Shokatsu to be worthy of transmitting "the lamp of *dharma.*"

As presented in *Cat's Yawn,* the central teaching of Zen, and the primary approach to finding repose of mind in this world, is in the achievement of "right outlook," familiar as the first element in the Eightfold Noble Path of Buddhism. As handled by the Zen Master, Sokei-an, however, it becomes something more. With all the tremendous force and thundering simplicity of Zen at its best, right outlook becomes the beginning and the end of life as it is now. There is, here, a forthright grappling with the problems of translation and exegesis for the uninitiated. Resolutely, boldly, and with great power, Sokei-an confronts reality. Within the compass of a modest eighty-odd pages the student finds immense, latent implications. If his heart quails before the hitherto unsuspected presence of eternity, and if he pleads for some haven where he can find psychological refuge, he may, at that very moment, be utterly flabbergasted by an overwhelming "K-a-a-aw!" from Sokei-an.

The entire contents of *Cat's Yawn* are of significance for the student of Zen, especially the excellent one-page essays on such themes as: Concerning Soul; The Sky Speaks; In Emptiness There Is Law; Lumbini; The Man Who Is Not

a Sky-Dweller; The Religion of Tranquillity; Tathagata, and Parinirvana. The last is the most moving English rendering of an hitherto untranslated version of the Great Decease ever seen by the present reviewer. Of rare quality, too, are the series: Transmission of the Lamp (tr. from *Kaitoku Dentoroku*), Our Lineage, and Twenty-five Koans. Five koans only appear here; the remainder are promised in the near future. Included also are many extremely well rendered selections from the Zenrin Collection. The student will appreciate the carefully arranged index, the helpful glossaries, the unusual illustrations. As he works with the materials here presented, he gradually becomes aware of huge secret reserves and depths in the human mind; of vast mountain ranges of spirit. Here he finds the compressed dynamism of Zen: an enormous potential under iron control. Here, in unmistakable terms, he is compelled by the "sudden enlightenment" school of the Sixth Patriarch to realize the beauty of everyday existence, to find out "who he is" and "whence he comes." Somehow within the pages of this extraordinary volume are caught the views of "The Man Who Is Not a Sky-Dweller."

Students of human existence will return again and again to ponder the words of Sokei-an. Perhaps they will practice the stern discipline he advocates. Perhaps they will resolutely confront themselves as they really are and, with the effort, achieve enlightenment.

GEORGE B. FOWLER

A History of the Jews from the Babylonian Exile to the end of World War II. By SOLOMON GRAYZEL. Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society, 1947. xxv, 835 pp. $3.50.

This is a sincere and generous attempt to write, for a popular audience, a history of the Jews during those periods when their inner life and the details of their relations with their neighbors are less well known than in the earlier, biblical periods. Dr. Grayzel writes as a Jew and a believer in the Jewish people. This entailes some sacrifice of objectivity, as the author himself points out, for which the compensation must be sought in the fire and ardor with which the book is written.

The final section of the book, called "The Search for a Friendly Home," concerns the history of the Jews during the past century and a half, since the French Revolution. To me it seemed that this section is the best part of the book. Dr. Grayzel has accomplished here a miracle of condensation at the expense of details, but without compromising the general accuracy of his picture.

A word of praise should be given to the illustrations profusely scattered through the pages. For the most part, they provide visual aids for the understanding of the text, clarifying many aspects of it; there are very few which are excrescential. Dr. Grayzel's competence as an editor has supplemented well his competence as a writer and historian.

J. L. B.

The Maccabees. By ELIAS BICKERMAN. (Schocken Library, vol. VI.) New York: Sochocken Books, 1947. 125 pp. $1.50.

This is a brief but interesting sketch of the period of the Maccabaean Revolt and of the course of that twenty-five year conflict and its aftermath. There is a good chronological table, two genealogical tables, and a useful map. The story has often been told. What distinguishes Mr. Bickerman's book is his theory that the Pharisees endeavored to incorporate some of the better elements of Hellenism into the Jewish religion. This may be an attractive hypothesis to some persons, but the evidence is far from convincing. Some of the presuppositions of the argument are questionable, e.g., that the idea of the whole people studying Torah was "a Hellenic, one might say a Platonic notion" (p. 94); or that the view of halakhah, or traditional usage as parallel to written law, is Greek (p. 95)—whereas in fact it is an age-old, world-wide phenomenon of religion; use and wont have always guided priests and religious functionaries (as Moore pointed out in his *Judaism*); or the idea that resurrection was a Hellenistic doctrine—Bickerman takes at face-value the language of Josephus, which implies that the Pharisaic doctrine was derived from the Greek teaching of the Pythagoreans (p. 97). Either Josephus wrote with his tongue in his cheek, trying to impress his Roman readers, or else he didn't know what he was talking about; his acquaintance with Pharisaism (for all his profession) seems to have been a bit superficial; what he knew about Orphism or Pythagoreanism was probably limited to what the man in the street could tell him—which may not have been much. It is to be hoped that, in his forthcoming work on Judaism in the Hellenistic period, Mr. Bickerman will be more critical of his sources.

FREDERICK C. GRANT

Polish Jews: A Pictorial Record. Photographs by ROMAN VISHNIAC, with an introductory essay by ABRAHAM JOSHUA HESCHEL. New York: Schocken Books, 1947. 80 pp. 31 plates $3.75.

In 1938, Roman Vishniac traveled through Poland photographing the Jews of that region. Now that the culture he photographed has been well-nigh destroyed, a selection of his pictures has been made to recreate for Western eyes some of the types of people and some of the aspects of life of this East European minority. Quite apart from the retrospective significance that might be imparted to these records of a vanished life, there is a haunting quality of spirituality which shines through most of these thirty-one pictures. There is coarseness, too, and a sort of vulgar acumen in these faces of men and women whose existence, in the best of times, hung by the narrowest of threads.

Professor Heschel's introduction combines nostalgia with an appreciation of the unique religious life of the East European Jews. But his last word is not of the past; it is of the present generation and its obligation to the future not to permit the total obliteration of the spiritual treasure which made it possible for this lost group to face unhappy life and unhappy death secure in the consciousness of consecration to the glory of God.

J. L. B.

The Bible To-day. By C. H. Dodd. Cambridge: at the University Press; New York: The Macmillan Company, 1947. ix, 163 pp. $2.50.

This is a book small in compass but significant in its contribution to thought about the Bible. It is a distillation of biblical theology, set forth in terms of the best scholarship in the two fields of biblical criticism and Christian theology.

The pivot of thought about which all the chapters revolve is that the story told in the Bible, both Old and New Testaments, is *history as revelation.* In the Old Testament, Professor Dodd finds prophecy the touchstone of interpretation. It is here that one finds most fully revealed in the Hebrew scripture the wonder and the mystery of God's way with men. As the prophets interpreted the life of the Hebrew people, they preached that God's full sovereignity was not yet realized, because His people were rebellious and sinful, but the prophets confidently hoped for a community conformed to God's will, a community of His true people to whom he could reveal Himself completely.

In the New Testament, Professor Dodd finds the emphasis shifted. The "not yet" of the Old Testament has now become transformed to a sense of realization and fulfillment. The *kerygma* of the apostolic church proclaimed that the long-expected climax of history had actually arrived. The new community manifested enthusiasm, optimism, and expansive energy. It showed itself from the first in principle catholic or universal. In the life and teaching of Jesus, in his suffering, death, and resurrection, the Christian community had seen, and could now proclaim to others: God at last revealed to man in His power and glory, shaping human life to His will and transfiguring it in the light of His presence.

This concept of the transfiguration of human life and human society is an important one in Professor Dodd's philosophy of history. With a brilliantly compact summary of Arnold Toynbee's *A Study of History,* he accepts from Toynbee's analysis this principle of transfiguration as the appropriate response to the present challenge of our declining civilization. He sees it as closely related to the prophetic view of history, in that it stems from the biblical conception of judgment and moral responsibility at the same time that it gives place for renewal and creativity.

The final chapter, on *History and the Individual,* emphasizes the interpenetration of individual and corporate elements in the biblical story, and shows how this interpenetration is brought to its clearest exemplification in the New Testament doctrine of the Church. Professor Dodd's summary of the message of the Bible for today is that the Church and the Bible are so closely bound together in one historical complex that it is only common sense to expect the Bible to speak to us most clearly in the context of the continuing life of the Church. The Church is heir to the history which is God's revelation of Himself to man, and thus the Church can make us participators in that revelation.

In the preface to this book, Professor Dodd explains that its contents were

"open lectures" given under the auspices of the Divinity Faculty of the University of Cambridge and that the text is partly based on shorthand notes taken by hearers of the lectures. Even allowing for the "measure of revision" which the author says took place, the reader can only marvel at the clarity of thought, and precision and grace of expression which the book exhibits. Only disciplined scholarship and seasoned thought could have brought about such distinguished results from this method of production.

MARY E. LYMAN

Lyman Pierson Powell, Pathfinder in Education and Religion. By CHARLES S. MACFARLAND. New York: Philosophical Library, 1947. 299 pp. $3.75.

"A free-hand drawing, or a set of drawings, is what has been attempted in this volume." Thus Dr. Macfarland introduces his book on Lyman Pierson Powell. The reader will not find a critical appraisal of the man or his thought. Half of the material is autobiographical. Moreover, subject and author were close friends and mutual admirers, cherishing the memories of a period in American educational and religious life of which they are both representatives, for which "progress" was the watchword, "success" the goal, "activism" the method, and "humanitarianism" the religion. Perhaps the greatest value of the book lies in its view of Dr. Powell not as "an incisive and reliable interpreter of human phenomena," nor as one who looks down on the stream of life and sees where it is leading, but as one who is part of that life and who discloses by his own movements the main course of the stream. Born at Farmington, Delaware, in 1866, Dr. Powell's long life exhibits an amazing variety of interests and activities until his death in 1946.

In place of the word "Pathfinder" in the title of the book, one might use "Promoter," for this seems to have been Dr. Powell's métier: promoting the idea of University Extension at the end of the nineteenth century; making clear "the growing idealism in business" as professor of Business Ethics at New York University; pleading on behalf of small colleges while president of Hobart and William Smith Colleges; and, after a visit to the Continent in 1917, "promoting educational good will" towards Europe. Moreover, the four chapters headed "Preacher of the Word and Physician of Souls" reveal his promotional ability as an Episcopalian clergyman, building churches, organizing parishes and developing parish societies.

In Dr. Powell's thought, the notion of the Motherhood of God is significant, relating as it does to his mysticism, to his work in the Emmanuel Movement, wherein phenomenal examples of successful faith-healing were reported, to Coué's philosophy, in which he saw a "strong and smiling goodness," and above all to Christian Science, of which he said, "God has a good and great work for Christian Science in this land." About its founder he wrote a book, *Mary Baker Eddy, A Life Size Portrait,* which Macfarland describes as "the outstanding expression of his gift as an interpreter of life." The enthusiastic and often uncritical support which Dr. Powell gave to a

wide variety of enterprises stemmed from his boundless faith in human nature and his "success" philosophy of life, and it is probably fitting that in the closing pages of the book he should be compared to Emerson.

The most delightful part of the book is the chapter written by Mrs. Powell, which might well stand by itself as an independent essay which "throws new light on Lyman Powell's entire life and service."

The biographer's style is lucid but somewhat rambling and repetitious. Powell's writing is more brilliant, if at times pompous, and it is not surprising that "Mr. Bok smashed in this bright headlight . . . , 'Not since Ambrose waved his emperor away in proud disdain from the Milan Cathedral and the golden-mouthed Chrysostom walked the Euxine sands without a hearing.' " The book is full of interest in its personal touches, its intimate view of men and movements, in the self-conscious reminiscences of Lyman Powell, an active promoter of education and religion, and a colorful representative of a fast receding age.

J. A. Boorman

Benjamin Mosby Smith, 1811-1893. By Francis R. Flournoy. Richmond, Va.: John Knox Press, 1947. viii, 153 pp. $2.00.

Benjamin Mosby Smith was born in Virginia, of a Virginia family, was educated there except for a year in Europe, married a Virginia woman, spent his whole working life in positions in Virginia, despite attractive opportunities elsewhere, sought chiefly objects in and of Virginia. To be sure, he traveled considerably and had many friends outside of Virginia. He was defined otherwise: "Among my grandfather's descendants and their immediate connections by marriage there have been thirteen Presbyterian ministers . . . I never knew any other church." His wife had five uncles in the Presbyterian ministry. Except his lifelong concern for public education, the things for which he worked were connected with the Presbyterian Church. Within these lines a man of vivacious mind, trained scholarship, broad culture, marked readiness and power of speech, strong human interests, fully engaged in the society of his region, he led a life of intense energy and industry and solid achievements. His biography, worth writing because both of what the man did and of views afforded of the Virginia of his time, has been intelligently written by his grandson on the basis of diaries and letters.

Professor Smith, as he was for thirty-five years, graduated from Hampden-Sydney College and Union Theological Seminary at Hampden Sydney, now at Richmond. Of a year (1936-37) at Halle and Berlin his diary gives interesting glimpses. After sixteen years in pastorates in Virginia, in 1854 he became professor in Union Seminary. During the war the institution barely lived, and at the end it was in financial collapse. In six strenuous years Professor Smith raised money, mostly in the North, to put it on a safe foundation, a principal benefactor being Cyrus McCormick of Chicago, Virginia born. In the post-war years he increased the influential participation in general Presbyterian affairs

which he had carried on since early in his ministry, and in 1876 he was moderator of the General Assembly of the Southern Presbyterian Church. When the building of the public school system of Virginia, which he began to urge in 1839, was at last inaugurated in 1870, he undertook the hard task of a county superintendent of schools and performed it for eleven years. For the restoration of Washington College, now Washington and Lee, an old interest, he did much, in association with his friend General Robert E. Lee, its president. Besides all this, he sustained his teaching until he was seventy-eight, winning high regard from his students and in the church.

ROBERT HASTINGS NICHOLS

Albert Schweitzer: An Anthology. Edited by CHARLES R. JOY. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1947. xxviii, 323 pp. $3.75.

Albert Schweitzer: The Man and His Mind. By GEORGE SEAVER. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1947. xi, 346 pp. $3.75.

These two books are part of a recent Albert Schweitzer vogue in this country. Not only have there been a number of Schweitzer's own writings in English translations, but a *Festschrift* in his honor, and some biographical works have lately been published. Among the latter there was a study by G. Seaver, *Albert Schweitzer, Christian Revolutionary*, that was reviewed in a previous issue of *The Review of Religion.* This sudden interest is by no means unaccountable. Albert Schweitzer is one of the few personalities of our times who might be considered heroes of peace. No wonder that, in a world torn by war and by the constant menace of war, one should turn to the work of a man who has devoted all his energy to a work of peace, and who, like the Christian hermits of old, has turned his back upon a life of strife and hatred and—civilization. There is something grandiose about the life of this man who, a trained theologian, an outstanding musician, an expert in many fields of Western culture, withdraws to a remote corner of the earth and sets himself the arduous and inconspicuous task of bringing relief and medical help to the poor and malady-ridden population of a forgotten spot in the African jungle.

Seaver's new book gives an excellent and inclusive account of this work, an account which, in its unpretentious factuality, makes a fascinating story. Joy's *Anthology* from Schweitzer's writings may serve as a complement to Seaver's biography. It is composed of selections from almost all of Schweitzer's philosophical and autobiographical books. Some of these short passages have a power and straightforwardness that make them epigrammatic in the best sense of the word. Like every anthology of this kind, this book is more a promise than a fulfillment: it may serve as an introduction to Schweitzer's own writings, but hardly as a substitute for them. And yet, in Schweitzer's case, such an anthology may well be sufficient to make the reader acquainted with the philosophy that lies behind his life-work, for all his writings are nothing but variations on a single theme—the sacredness of life.

WALTER ECKSTEIN

AMONG THE PERIODICALS

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